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THE  
HISTORY OF THE REIGN  
OF THE  
EMPEROR CHARLES V

WITH A  
VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE  
FROM THE SUBVERSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE  
BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY  
WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D., F.R.S.

ABRIDGED EDITION  
WITH QUESTIONS FOR THE EXAMINATION  
OF STUDENTS

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A. L. FOWLE  
NEW YORK  
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**VIEW**  
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**SECTION I.**

View of the Progress of Society in Europe, with respect to Interior  
Government, Laws, and Manners.

Two great revolutions have happened in the political state and in the manners of the European nations. The first was occasioned by the progress of the Roman power, the second by the subversion of it. When the spirit of conquest led the armies of Rome beyond the Alps, they found all the countries which they invaded inhabited by people whom they denominated barbarians, but who were nevertheless brave and independent. These defended their ancient possessions with obstinate valour. It was by the superiority of their discipline, rather than that of their courage, that the Romans gained any advantage over them. A single battle did not, as among the effeminate inhabitants of Asia, decide the fate of a state. The vanquished people resumed their arms with fresh spirit, and their undisciplined valour, animated by the love of liberty, supplied the want of conduct as well as of union. During those long and fierce struggles for dominion or independence, the countries of Europe were successively laid waste, a great part of their inhabitants perished in the field, many were carried into slavery, and a feeble rem-

nant, incapable of farther resistance, submitted to the Roman power.

The Romans having thus desolated Europe, set themselves to civilize it. The form of government which they established in the conquered provinces, though severe, was regular, and preserved public tranquillity. As a consolation for the loss of liberty, they communicated their arts, sciences, language, and manners, to their new subjects. Europe began to breathe and to recover strength after the calamities which it had undergone: agriculture was encouraged; population increased; the ruined cities were rebuilt; new towns were founded; an appearance of prosperity succeeded, and repaired, in some degree, the havoc of war.

This state, however, was far from being happy, or favourable to the improvement of the human mind. The vanquished nations were disarmed by their conquerors, and overawed by soldiers kept in pay to restrain them. They were given up as a prey to rapacious governors, who plundered them with impunity; and were drained of their wealth by exorbitant taxes. They were deprived of their most enterprising citizens, who resorted to a distant capital in quest of preferment or of riches; and were accustomed in all their actions to look up to a superior, and tamely to receive his commands. Under so many depressing circumstances it was hardly possible that they could retain vigour or generosity of mind. The martial and independent spirit which had distinguished their ancestors became, in a great measure, extinct among all the people subjected to the Roman yoke; they lost not only the habit, but even the capacity, of deciding for themselves, or of acting from the impulse of their own minds; and the dominion of the Romans, like that of all great empires, degraded and debased the human species.

A society in such a state could not subsist long. There were defects in the Roman government, even in its most perfect form, which threatened its dissolu-



tion. Time ripened these original seeds of corruption, and gave birth to many new disorders. A constitution unsound and worn out must have fallen into pieces of itself without any external shock. The violent irruption of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, hastened this event, and precipitated the downfall of the empire. New nations seemed to arise, and to rush from unknown regions, in order to take vengeance on the Romans for the calamities which they had inflicted on mankind. These fierce tribes either inhabited the various provinces in Germany which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over those vast countries in the north of Europe and north-west of Asia which are now occupied by the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, the subjects of the Russian empire, and the Tartars. Their condition and transactions previous to their invasion of the empire are but little known. The accounts of their original state given by the Roman historians are extremely imperfect. The rude inhabitants themselves, destitute of science as well as of records, and without leisure or curiosity to inquire into remote events, retained perhaps some indistinct memory of recent occurrences, but beyond these all was buried in oblivion, or involved in darkness and in fable.

The prodigious swarms which poured in upon the empire from the beginning of the fourth century to the final extinction of the Roman power, have given rise to an opinion that the countries whence they issued were crowded with inhabitants. But if we consider that the countries possessed by the people who invaded the empire were of vast extent; that some of the most considerable of the barbarous nations subsisted entirely by hunting or pasturage, in both which states of society large tracts of land are required for maintaining a few inhabitants; and that all of them were strangers to the arts and industry without which population cannot increase to any great degree, we must conclude that these countries could not be so populous in ancient times as they are in

the present, when they still continue to be less peopled than any other part of Europe or of Asia.

But the same circumstances that prevented the barbarous nations from becoming populous, contributed to inspire or to strengthen the martial spirit by which they were distinguished. Inured by the rigour of their climate or the poverty of their soil, to hardships which rendered their bodies firm and their minds vigorous; accustomed to a course of life which was a continual preparation for action; and disdaining every occupation but that of war or of hunting, they undertook and prosecuted their military enterprises with an ardour and impetuosity of which men softened by the refinements of more polished times can scarcely form any idea.

Their first inroads into the empire proceeded rather from the love of plunder than the desire of new settlements. Roused to arms by some enterprising or popular leader, they sallied out of their forests; broke in upon the frontier provinces with irresistible violence; put all who opposed them to the sword; carried off the most valuable effects of the inhabitants; dragged along multitudes of captives in chains; wasted all before them with fire or sword; and returned in triumph to their wilds and fastnesses. When nothing was left to plunder in the adjacent provinces, ravaged by frequent excursions, they marched farther from home, and finding it difficult or dangerous to return, they began to settle in the countries which they had subdued. In less than two centuries from their first irruption, barbarians of various names and lineage plundered and took possession of Thrace, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and at last of Italy and Rome itself. The vast fabric of the Roman power, which it had been the work of ages to perfect, was in that short period overturned from the foundation.

Many concurring causes prepared the way for this great revolution, and insured success to the nations **which** invaded the empire. The Roman common



wealth had conquered the world by the wisdom of its civil maxims and the rigour of its military discipline. But under the emperors the former were forgotten or despised, and the latter was gradually relaxed. The armies of the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries bore scarcely any resemblance to those invincible legions which had been victorious wherever they marched. Instead of freemen who voluntarily took arms from the love of glory or of their country, provincials and barbarians were bribed or forced into service. Infantry, from which the armies of ancient Rome derived their vigour and stability, fell into contempt; the effeminate and undisciplined soldiers of later times could hardly be brought to venture into the field but on horseback. These wretched troops, however, were the only guardians of the empire. The jealousy of despotism had deprived the people of the use of arms; and subjects oppressed and rendered incapable of defending themselves, had neither spirit nor inclination to resist their invaders, from whom they had little to fear, because their condition could hardly be rendered more unhappy. At the same time that the martial spirit became extinct, the revenues of the empire gradually diminished. The taste for the luxuries of the east increased to such a pitch in the imperial court, that great sums were carried into India, from which, in the channel of commerce, money never returns. By the large subsidies paid to the barbarous nations, a still greater quantity of specie was withdrawn from circulation, and the wealth of the world, which had long centred in the capital of the empire, ceased to flow thither in the same abundance, or was diverted into other channels. The limits of the empire continued to be as extensive as ever, while the spirit requisite for its defence declined, and its resources were exhausted. A vast body, languid, and almost unanimated, became incapable of any effort to save itself, and was easily overpowered. The emperors, who had the absolute direction of this disordered system, sunk in the soft-

ness of eastern luxury, trembled at the approach of danger, and under circumstances which called for the utmost vigour in counsel as well as in action, discovered all the impotent irresolution of fear and of folly.

In every respect the condition of the barbarous nations was the reverse of that of the Romans. Among the former the martial spirit was in full vigour; their leaders were hardy and enterprising; the arts which had enervated the Romans were unknown; and such was the nature of their military institutions, that they brought forces into the field without any trouble, and supported them at little expense. The mercenary and effeminate troops stationed on the frontier, astonished at their fierceness, either fled at their approach, or were routed on the first onset. The feeble expedient to which the emperors had recourse, of taking large bodies of the barbarians into pay, and of employing them to repel new invaders, instead of retarding, hastened the destruction of the empire. These mercenaries soon turned their arms against their masters, and with greater advantage than ever; for by serving in the Roman armies they had acquired all the discipline or skill in war which the Romans still retained; and by adding these to their native ferocity, they became altogether irresistible.

But though, from these and many other causes, the progress and conquests of the nations which overran the empire became so extremely rapid, they were accompanied with horrible devastations, and an incredible destruction of the human species. It was with a spirit of violent impetuosity, rage, and vengeance, that the powerful and fierce barbarians in the north of Europe and of Asia fell upon the Roman empire. Wherever they marched their route was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. Famine and pestilence, which always march in the train of war when it ravages with such inconsiderate cruelty, raged in every part

of Europe, and completed its sufferings. If a man were called to fix upon the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy.\* The contemporary authors who beheld that scene of desolation, labour and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. *The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations*, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders; and they compare the ruin which they had brought on the world to the havoc occasioned by earthquakes, conflagrations, or deluges, the most formidable and fatal calamities which the imagination of man can conceive.

But no expressions can convey so perfect an idea of the destructive progress of the barbarians as that which must strike an attentive observer when he contemplates the total change which he will discover in the state of Europe, after it began to recover some degree of tranquillity, towards the close of the sixth century. The Saxons were by that time masters of the southern and more fertile provinces of Britain; the Franks of Gaul; the Huns of Pannonia; the Goths of Spain; the Goths and Lombards of Italy and the adjacent provinces. Very faint vestiges of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts, or literature, remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries, were every where introduced. To make a great or sudden alteration with respect to any of these, unless where the ancient inhabitants of a country have been almost totally exterminated, has proved an undertaking beyond the power of the greatest conquerors. The great change which the settlement of the barbarous

\* Theodosius died A. D. 395; the reign of Alboinus in Lombard began A. D. 571; so that this period was 176 years.



nations occasioned in the state of Europe may, therefore, be considered as a more decisive proof than even the testimony of contemporary historians, of the destructive violence with which these invaders carried on their conquest, and of the havoc which they had made from one extremity of this quarter of the globe to the other.

In the obscurity of the chaos occasioned by this general wreck of nations we must search for the seeds of order, and endeavour to discover the first rudiments of the policy and laws now established in Europe. To this source the historians of its different kingdoms have attempted, though with less attention and industry than the importance of the inquiry merits, to trace back the institutions and customs peculiar to their countrymen. It is not my province to give a minute detail of the progress of government and manners in each particular nation whose transactions are the object of the following history. But in order to exhibit a just view of the state of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to look back and to contemplate the condition of the northern nations upon their first settlement in those countries which they occupied. It is necessary to mark the great steps by which they advanced from barbarism to refinement, and to point out those general principles and events which, by their uniform as well as extensive operation, conducted all of them to that degree of improvement in policy and in manners which they had attained at the period when Charles V. began his reign.

When nations subject to despotic government make conquests, these serve only to extend the dominion and the power of their master. But armies composed of freemen conquer for themselves, not for their leaders. The people who overturned the Roman empire and settled in its various provinces were of the latter class. They followed the chieftain who led them forth in quest of new settlements, not by constraint, but from choice ; not as soldiers

whom he could order to march, but as volunteers who offered to accompany him. They considered their conquests as a common property, in which all had a title to share, as all had contributed to acquire them. The booty gained by an army belonged to the army; and the king himself had no part of it, but what he acquired by lot.\* In what manner or by what principles they divided among them the lands which they seized, we cannot now determine with any certainty. There is no nation in Europe whose records reach back to this remote period; and there is little information to be got from the uninformative and meagre chronicles compiled by writers ignorant of the true end, and unacquainted with the proper objects, of history.

This new division of property, however, together with the maxims and manners to which it gave rise, gradually introduced a species of government formerly unknown. This singular institution is now distinguished by the name of the *Feudal System*: and though the barbarous nations which framed it settled in their new territories at different times, came from different countries, spoke various languages, and were under the command of separate leaders the feudal policy and laws were established, with little variation, in every kingdom of Europe. This amazing uniformity had induced some authors to believe that all these nations, notwithstanding so many apparent circumstances of distinction, were

\* A remarkable instance of this occurs in the history of the Franks. About the year 485, the army of Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, having plundered a church, carried off, among other sacred utensils, a vase of extraordinary size and beauty. The bishop sent deputies to Clovis, beseeching him to restore the vase, that it might be again employed in the sacred services to which it had been consecrated. Clovis desired the deputies to follow him to Soissons, as the booty was to be divided in that place: and promised, that if the lot should give him the disposal of the vase, he would grant what the bishop desired. When he came to Soissons, and all the booty was placed in one great heap in the middle of the army, Clovis entreated that, before making the division, they would give him that vase over and above his share. All appeared willing to gratify the king, and to comply with his request, when a fierce and haughty soldier lifted up his battle-axe, and, striking the vase with the utmost violence, cried out with a loud voice, 'You shall receive nothing here but that to which the lot gives you a right.'

originally the same people. But it may be ascribed, with great probability, to the similar state of society and of manners to which they were accustomed in their native countries, and to the similar situation in which they found themselves on taking possession of their new domains.

As the conquerors of Europe had their acquisitions to maintain, not only against such of the ancient inhabitants as they had spared, but against the more formidable inroads of new invaders, self-defence was their chief care, and seems to have been the chief object of their first institutions and policy. They saw the necessity of uniting in close confederacy, and of relinquishing some of their private rights in order to attain public safety. Every freeman, upon receiving a portion of the lands which were divided, bound himself to appear in arms against the enemies of the community. This military service was the condition upon which he received and held his lands: and as they were exempted from every other burden, that tenure among a warlike people was deemed both easy and honourable. The king or general who led them to conquest, continuing still to be the head of the colony, had, of course, the largest portion allotted to him. Having thus acquired the means of rewarding past services as well as of gaining new adherents, he parcelled out his lands with this view, binding those on whom they were bestowed to resort to his standard with a number of men in proportion to the extent of the territory which they received, and to bear arms in his defence. His chief officers imitated the example of the sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same condition to the grant. Thus a feudal kingdom resembled a military establishment rather than a civil institution. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had seized, continued ranged under its proper officers, and subordinate to military command. The names of a soldier and of a freeman were synonymous. Every proprietor



of land, girt with a sword, was ready to march at the summons of his superior, and to take the field against the common enemy.

But though the feudal policy seems to be so admirably calculated for defence against the assaults of any foreign power, its provisions for the interior order and tranquillity of society were extremely defective. The principles of disorder and corruption are discernible in that constitution under its best and most perfect form. They soon unfolded themselves, and, spreading with rapidity through every part of the system, produced the most fatal effects. The bond of political union was extremely feeble, the sources of anarchy were innumerable. The monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution having no intermediate power to balance them, were perpetually at variance, and justling with each other. The powerful vassals of the crown soon extorted a confirmation for life of those grants of land, which being at first purely gratuitous, had been bestowed only during pleasure. Not satisfied with this, they prevailed to have them converted into hereditary possessions. One step more completed their usurpations, and rendered them unalienable. With an ambition no less enterprising, and more preposterous, they appropriated to themselves titles of honour, as well as offices of power or trust. These personal marks of distinction, which the public admiration bestows on illustrious merit, or which the public confidence confers on extraordinary abilities, were annexed to certain families, and transmitted, like fiefs, from father to son, by hereditary right. The crown vassals having thus secured the possession of their lands and dignities, the nature of the feudal institutions, which though founded on subordination verged to independence, led them to new and still more dangerous encroachments on the prerogatives of the sovereign. They obtained the power of supreme jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, within their own territories; the right of coining money; together

with the privilege of carrying on war against their private enemies, in their own name and by their own authority. The ideas of political subjection were almost entirely lost, and frequently scarce any appearance of feudal subordination remained. Nobles who had acquired such enormous power scorned to consider themselves as subjects. They aspired openly at being independent: the bonds which connected the principal members of the constitution with the crown were dissolved. A kingdom considerable in name and in extent was broken into as many separate principalities as it contained powerful barons. A thousand causes of jealousy and discord subsisted among them, and gave rise to as many wars. Every country in Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm during these endless contests, was filled with castles and places of strength erected for the security of the inhabitants, not against foreign force, but against internal hostilities. An universal anarchy, destructive, in a great measure, of all the advantages which men expect to derive from society, prevailed. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful part of the community, were either reduced to a state of actual servitude, or treated with the same insolence and rigour as if they had been degraded into that wretched condition. The king, stripped of almost every prerogative, and without authority to enact or to execute salutary laws, could neither protect the innocent nor punish the guilty. The nobles, superior to all restraint, harassed each other with perpetual wars, oppressed their fellow-subjects, and humbled or insulted their sovereign. To crown all, time gradually fixed, and rendered venerable, this pernicious system which violence had established.

Such was the state of Europe with respect to the interior administration of government from the seventh to the eleventh century. All the external operations of its various states, during this period, were, of course, extremely feeble. A kingdom dis-

membered and torn with dissension, without any common interest to rouse, or any common head to conduct its force, was incapable of acting with vigour. Every baron, at the head of his vassals, carried on some petty enterprise, to which he was prompted by his own ambition or revenge. The state itself, destitute of union, either remained altogether inactive, or if it attempted to make any effort, that served only to discover its impotence. The superior genius of Charlemagne, it is true, united all these disjointed and discordant members, and forming them again into one body, restored to government that degree of activity which distinguishes his reign, and renders the transactions of it objects not only of attention but of admiration to more enlightened times. But this state of union and vigour not being natural to the feudal government, was of short duration. Immediately upon his death, the spirit which animated and sustained the vast system which he had established being withdrawn, it broke into pieces. All the calamities which flow from anarchy and discord, returning with additional force, afflicted the different kingdoms into which his empire was split. From that time to the eleventh century, a succession of uninteresting events, a series of wars, the motives as well as the consequences of which were unimportant, fill and deform the annals of all the nations in Europe.

To these pernicious effects of the feudal anarchy may be added its fatal influence on the character and improvement of the human mind. In less than a century after the barbarous nations settled in their new conquests, almost all the effects of the knowledge and civility which the Romans had spread through Europe disappeared. Not only the arts of elegance, which minister to luxury, and are supported by it, but many of the useful arts, without which life can scarcely be considered as comfortable, were neglected or lost. Literature, science, taste, were



words little in use during the ages which we are contemplating; or if they occur at any time, eminence in them is ascribed to persons and productions so contemptible, that it appears their true import was little understood. Persons of the highest rank, and in the most eminent stations, could not read or write. Many of the clergy did not understand the breviary which they were obliged daily to recite; some of them could scarcely read it. The memory of past transactions was, in a great degree, lost, or preserved in annals filled with trifling events or legendary tales. The human mind, neglected, uncultivated, and depressed, continued in the most profound ignorance. There are few inventions useful or ornamental to society of which that long period can boast.

Even the Christian religion, though its precepts are delivered and its institutions are fixed in Scripture, with a precision which should have exempted them from being misinterpreted or corrupted, degenerated, during those ages of darkness, into an illiberal superstition. The barbarous nations, when converted to Christianity, changed the object, not the spirit, of their religious worship. They endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the true God by means not unlike to those which they had employed in order to appease their false deities. Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, which alone can render men acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonies; which were either so unmeaning as to be altogether unworthy of the Being to whose honour they were consecrated, or so absurd as to be a disgrace to reason and humanity. Charlemagne in France, and Alfred the Great in England, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and gave their subjects a short glimpse of light and knowledge. But the ignorance of the age was too powerful for their

efforts and institutions. The darkness returned, and settled over Europe more thick and heavy than before.

As the inhabitants of Europe, during these centuries, were strangers to the arts which embellished a polished age, they were destitute of the virtues which abound among people who continue in a simple state. The spirit of domination corrupted the nobles; the yoke of servitude depressed the people; the generous sentiments inspired by a sense of equality were extinguished, and hardly any thing remained to be a check on ferocity and violence.

But, according to the observation of an elegant and profound historian, there is an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progress, and beyond which they never pass either in their advancement or decline. When defects, either in the form or in the administration of government, occasion such disorders in society as are excessive and intolerable, it becomes the common interest to discover and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove them. Slight inconveniences may be long overlooked or endured; but when abuses grow to a certain pitch, the society must go to ruin, or must attempt to reform them. The disorders in the feudal system, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, which had gone on increasing during a long course of years, seemed to have attained their utmost point of excess towards the close of the eleventh century. From that era we may date the return of government and manners in a contrary direction, and can trace a succession of causes and events which contributed, some with a nearer and more conspicuous, others with a more remote and less perceptible, influence, to abolish confusion and barbarism, and to introduce order, regularity, and refinement.

In pointing out and explaining these causes and events, it is not necessary to observe the order of

time with a chronological accuracy; it is of more importance to keep in view their mutual connexion and dependence, and to shew how the operation of one event or one cause prepared the way for another, and augmented its influence. We have hitherto been contemplating the progress of that darkness which spread over Europe, from its first approach to the period of greatest osbcuration; a more pleasant exercise begins here—to observe the first dawnings of returning light, to mark the various accessions by which it gradually increased and advanced towards the full splendour of day.

I. The Crusades, or expeditions in order to rescue the Holy Land out of the hands of infidels, seemed to be the first event that roused Europe from the lethargy in which it had been long sunk, and that tended to introduce any considerable change in government or in manners. It is natural to the human mind to view those places which have been distinguished by being the residence of any illustrious personage, or the scene of any great transaction, with some degree of delight and veneration. To this principle must be ascribed the superstitious devotion with which Christians, from the earliest ages of the church, were accustomed to visit that country which the Almighty had selected as the inheritance of his favourite people, and in which the Son of God had accomplished the redemption of mankind. As this distant pilgrimage could not be performed without considerable expense, fatigue, and danger, it appeared the more meritorious, and came to be considered as an expiation for almost every crime. An opinion which spread with rapidity over Europe about the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, and which gained universal credit, wonderfully augmented the number of credulous pilgrims, and increased the ardour with which they undertook this useless voyage. The thousand years mentioned by St. John were supposed to be accomplished, and the end of the



world to be at hand. A general consternation seized mankind; many relinquished their possessions; and abandoning their friends and families, hurried with precipitation to the Holy Land, where they imagined that Christ would quickly appear to judge the world. While Palestine continued subject to the Caliphs, they had encouraged the resort of pilgrims to Jerusalem; and considered this as a beneficial species of commerce, which brought into their dominions gold and silver, and carried nothing out of them but relics and consecrated trinkets. But the Turks having conquered Syria about the middle of the eleventh century, pilgrims were exposed to outrages of every kind from these fierce barbarians. This change happening precisely at the juncture when the panic terror which I have mentioned rendered pilgrimages most frequent, filled Europe with alarm and indignation. Every person who returned from Palestine related the dangers which he had encountered in visiting the Holy City, and described with exaggeration the cruelty and vexations of the Turks.

When the minds of men were thus prepared, the zeal of a fanatical monk who conceived the idea of leading all the forces of Christendom against the infidels, and of driving them out of the Holy Land by violence, was sufficient to give a beginning to that wild enterprise. In the year 1095 Peter the Hermit, for that was the name of this martial apostle, ran from province to province with a crucifix in his hand, exciting princes and people to this holy war, and wherever he came kindled the same enthusiastic ardour for it with which he himself was animated. The council of Placentia, where upwards of thirty thousand persons were assembled, pronounced the scheme to have been suggested by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. In the council of Clermont, still more numerous, as soon as the measure was proposed, all cried out with one voice, 'It is the will of God.' Persons of all ranks caught the contagion. If we may believe the concurring

testimony of contemporary authors, six millions of persons assumed the cross, which was the badge that distinguished such as devoted themselves to this holy warfare. All Europe, says the princess Anna Comnena, torn up from the foundation, seemed ready to precipitate itself in one united body upon Asia. Nor did the fumes of this enthusiastic zeal evaporate at once: the frenzy was as lasting as it was extravagant. During two centuries Europe seems to have had no object but to recover or keep possession of the Holy Land; and through that period vast armies continued to march thither.

The first efforts of valour, animated by enthusiasm, were irresistible: part of the Lesser Asia, all Syria and Palestine, were wrested from the infidels; the banner of the cross was displayed on mount Sion; Constantinople, the capital of the Christian empire in the east, was afterwards seized by a body of those adventurers, who had taken arms against the Mahometans, and an earl of Flanders, and his descendants, kept possession of the imperial throne during half a century. But though the first impression of the crusaders was so unexpected that they made their conquests with great ease, they found infinite difficulty in preserving them. Establishments so distant from Europe, surrounded by warlike nations animated with fanatical zeal scarcely inferior to that of the crusaders themselves, were perpetually in danger of being overturned. Before the expiration of the thirteenth century, the Christians were driven out of all their Asiatic possessions, in acquiring of which incredible numbers of men had perished, and immense sums of money had been wasted. The only common enterprise in which the European nations ever engaged, and which they all undertook with equal ardour, remains a singular monument of human folly.

But from these expeditions, extravagant as they were, beneficial consequences followed which had neither been foreseen nor expected. In their pro-

gress towards the Holy Land, the followers of the cross marched through countries better cultivated and more civilized than their own. Their first rendezvous was commonly in Italy, in which Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and other cities, had begun to apply themselves to commerce, and had made considerable advances towards wealth as well as refinement. They embarked there, and landing in Dalmatia, pursued their route by land to Constantinople. Though the military spirit had been long extinct in the eastern empire, and a despotism of the worst species had annihilated almost every public virtue, yet Constantinople, having never felt the destructive rage of the barbarous nations, was the greatest as well as the most beautiful city in Europe, and the only one in which there remained any image of the ancient elegance in manners and arts. The naval power of the eastern empire was considerable. Manufactures of the most curious fabric were carried on in its dominions. Constantinople was the chief mart in Europe for the commodities of the East Indies. Although the Saracens and Turks had torn from the empire many of its richest provinces, and had reduced it within very narrow bounds, yet great wealth flowed into the capital from these various sources, which not only cherished such a taste for magnificence, but kept alive such a relish for the sciences, as appears considerable when compared with what was known in other parts of Europe. Even in Asia, the Europeans who had assumed the cross found the remains of the knowledge and arts which the example and encouragement of the Caliphs had diffused through their empire. Although the attention of the historians of the Crusades was fixed on other objects than the state of society and manners among the nations which they invaded—although most of them had neither taste nor discernment enough to describe these, they relate, however, such signal acts of humanity and generosity in the conduct of Sala-



din, as well as some other leaders of the Mahometans, as give us a very high idea of their manners. It was not possible for the crusaders to travel through so many countries, and to behold their various customs and institutions, without acquiring information and improvement. Their views enlarged; their prejudices wore off; new ideas crowded into their minds; and they must have been sensible, on many occasions, of the rusticity of their own manners, when compared with those of a more polished people. These impressions were not so slight as to be effaced upon their return to their native countries. Accordingly we discover, soon after the commencement of the Crusades, greater splendour in the courts of princes, greater pomp in public ceremonies, a more refined taste in pleasure and amusements, together with a more romantic spirit of enterprise, spreading gradually over Europe; and to these wild expeditions, the effect of superstition or folly, we owe the first gleams of light which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance.

But these beneficial consequences of the Crusades took place slowly; their influence upon the state of property, and consequently of power, in the different kingdoms of Europe, was more immediate as well as discernible. The nobles who assumed the cross, and bound themselves to march to the Holy Land, soon perceived that great sums were necessary towards defraying the expense of such a distant expedition, and enabling them to appear with suitable dignity at the head of their vassals. But the genius of the feudal system was averse to the imposition of extraordinary taxes, and subjects in that age were unaccustomed to pay them. No expedient remained for levying the sums requisite but the sale of their possessions. The monarchs of the great kingdoms in the west, none of whom had engaged in the first Crusade, eagerly seized this opportunity of annexing considerable territories to their crowns at small expense. Besides this, several great barons, who

perished in the holy war, having left no heirs, their fiefs reverted of course to their respective sovereigns; and by these accessions of property as well as power, taken from the one scale and thrown into the other, the regal authority rose in proportion as that of the aristocracy declined. The absence, too, of many potent vassals, accustomed to control and give law to their sovereigns, afforded them an opportunity of extending their prerogative, and of acquiring a degree of weight in the constitution which they did not formerly possess. To these circumstances we may add, that as all who assumed the cross were taken under the immediate protection of the church, and its heaviest anathemas were denounced against such as should disquiet or annoy those who had devoted themselves to this service, the private quarrels and hostilities which banished tranquillity from a feudal kingdom were suspended or extinguished; a more general and steady administration of justice began to be introduced, and some advances were made towards the establishment of regular government in the several kingdoms of Europe.

The commercial effects of the Crusades were not less considerable than those which I have already mentioned. The first armies under the standard of the cross, which Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon led through Germany and Hungary to Constantinople, suffered so much by the length of the march, as well as by the fierceness of the barbarous people who inhabited those countries, that it deterred others from taking the same route; and rather than encounter so many dangers, they chose to go by sea. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, furnished the transports on which they embarked. The sum which these cities received merely for freight from such numerous armies was immense. This, however, was but a small part of what they gained by the expeditions to the Holy Land; the crusaders contracted with them for military stores and provisions; their fleets kept on the coast as the armies advanced by land: and supplying

them with whatever was wanting, engrossed all the profits of a branch of commerce which, in every age, has been extremely lucrative. When the crusaders seized Constantinople, and placed one of their own leaders on the imperial throne, the Italian states were likewise gainers by that event. The Venetians, who had planned the enterprise, and took a considerable part in carrying it into execution, did not neglect to secure to themselves the chief advantages redounding from its success. They made themselves masters of part of the ancient Peloponnesus in Greece, together with some of the most fertile islands in the Archipelago. Many valuable branches of the commerce which formerly centred in Constantinople were transferred to Venice, Genoa, or Pisa. Thus a succession of events occasioned by the Holy War opened various sources from which wealth flowed in such abundance into these cities, as enabled them, in concurrence with another institution which shall be immediately mentioned, to secure their own liberty and independence.

II. The institution to which I alluded was the forming of cities into communities, corporations, or bodies politic, and granting them the privilege of municipal jurisdiction, which contributed more, perhaps, than any other cause, to introduce regular government, police, and arts, and to diffuse them over Europe. The feudal government had degenerated into a system of oppression. The usurpations of the nobles were become unbounded and intolerable; they had reduced the great body of the people into a state of actual servitude; the condition of those dignified with the name of freemen was often little preferable to that of the other. Nor was such oppression the portion of those alone who dwelt in the country, and were employed in cultivating the estate of their master. Cities and villages found it necessary to hold of some great lord, on whom they might depend for protection, and became no less subject to his arbitrary jurisdiction. The inhabitants were deprived of those



rights which, in social life, are deemed most natural and inalienable. Services of various kinds, no less disgraceful than oppressive, were exacted from them without mercy or moderation. The spirit of industry was checked in some cities by absurd regulations, and in others by unreasonable exactions; nor would the narrow and oppressive maxims of a military aristocracy have permitted it ever to rise to any degree of height or vigour.

But as soon as the cities of Italy began to turn their attention towards commerce, and to conceive some idea of the advantages which they might derive from it, they became impatient to shake off the yoke of their insolent lords, and to establish among themselves such a free and equal government as would render property secure and industry flourishing. The inhabitants of some of the Italian cities, towards the beginning of the eleventh century, began to assume new privileges, to unite together more closely, and to form themselves into bodies politic, under the government of laws established by common consent. The rights which many cities acquired by bold or fortunate usurpations, others purchased from the emperors, who deemed themselves gainers when they received large sums for immunities which they were no longer able to withhold; and some cities obtained them gratuitously from the generosity or facility of the princes on whom they depended. The great increase of wealth which the Crusades brought into Italy occasioned a new kind of fermentation and activity in the minds of the people, and excited such a general passion for liberty and independence, that, before the conclusion of the last Crusade, in 1291, all the considerable cities in that country had either purchased or had extorted large immunities from the emperors.

This innovation was not long known in Italy before it made its way into France. Louis le Gros, in order to create some power that might counterbalance those potent vassals who controlled or gave law to

the crown, first adopted the plan of conferring new privileges on the towns situated within his own domain. These privileges were called *charters of community*, by which he enfranchised the inhabitants, abolished all marks of servitude, and formed them into corporations or bodies politic, to be governed by a council and magistrates of their own nomination. These magistrates had the right of administering justice within their own precincts, of levying taxes, of embodying and training to arms the militia of the town, which took the field when required by the sovereign, under the command of officers appointed by the community. The great barons imitated the example of their monarch, and granted like immunities to the towns within their territories. They had wasted such great sums in their expeditions to the Holy Land, that they were eager to lay hold on this new expedient for raising money, by the sale of those charters of liberty. Though the institution of communities was as repugnant to their maxims of policy as it was adverse to their power, they disregarded remote consequences in order to obtain present relief. In less than two centuries servitude was abolished in most of the towns in France, and they became free corporations instead of dependent villages without jurisdiction or privileges. Much about the same period the great cities in Germany began to acquire like immunities, and laid the foundation of their present liberty and independence. The practice spread quickly over Europe, and was adopted in Spain, England, Scotland, and all the other feudal kingdoms.

The good effects of this new institution were immediately felt, and its influence on government as well as manners was no less extensive than salutary. A great body of the people was released from servitude, and from all the arbitrary and grievous impositions to which that wretched condition had subjected them. Towns, upon acquiring the right of community became so many little republics, governed by

known and equal laws. Liberty was deemed such an essential and characteristic part in their constitution, that if any slave took refuge in one of them, and resided there during a year without being claimed, he was instantly declared a freeman, and admitted as a member of the community.

As one part of the people owed their liberty to the erection of communities, another was indebted to them for their security. Such had been the state of Europe during several centuries, that self-preservation obliged every man to court the patronage of some powerful baron, and in times of danger his castle was the place to which all resorted for safety. But towns surrounded with walls, whose inhabitants were regularly trained to arms, and bound by interest, as well as by the most solemn engagements, reciprocally to defend each other, afforded a more commodious and secure retreat. The nobles began to be considered as of less importance, when they ceased to be the sole guardians to whom the people could look up for protection against violence.

If the nobility suffered some diminution of their credit and power by the privileges granted to the cities, the crown acquired an increase of both. As there were no regular troops kept on foot in any of the feudal kingdoms, the monarch could bring no army into the field but what was composed of soldiers furnished by the crown vassals, always jealous of the regal authority; nor had he any funds for carrying on the public service but such as they granted him with a very sparing hand. But when the members of communities were permitted to bear arms, and were trained to the use of them, this in some degree supplied the first defect, and gave the crown the command of a body of men, independent of its great vassals. The attachment of the cities to their sovereigns, whom they respected as the first authors of their liberties, and whom they were obliged to court as the protectors of their immunities against the domineering spirit of the nobles, contributed some-



what towards removing the second evil, as, on many occasions, it procured the crown supplies of money which added new force to government.

The acquisition of liberty made such a happy change in the condition of all the members of communities, as roused them from that inaction into which they had been sunk by the wretchedness of their former state. The spirit of industry revived : commerce became an object of attention, and began to flourish : population increased : independence was established : and wealth flowed into cities which had long been the seat of poverty and oppression. Wealth was accompanied by its usual attendants, ostentation and luxury ; and though the former was formal and cumbersome, and the latter inelegant, they led gradually to greater refinement in manners and in the habits of life. Together with this improvement in manners, a more regular species of government and police was introduced. As cities grew to be more populous, and the occasions of intercourse among men increased, statutes and regulations multiplied of course, and all became sensible that their common safety depended on observing them with exactness, and on punishing such as violated them with promptitude and rigour. Laws and subordination, as well as polished manners, taking their rise in cities, diffused themselves insensibly through the rest of the society.

III. The inhabitants of cities having obtained personal freedom and municipal jurisdiction, soon acquired civil liberty and political power. It was a fundamental principle in the feudal system of policy, that no freeman could be subjected to new laws or taxes unless by his own consent. In consequence of this, the vassals of every baron were called to his court, in which they established, by mutual consent, such regulations as they deemed most beneficial to their small society, and granted their superior such supplies of money as were proportioned to their abilities or to his wants. The barons themselves, con

formably to the same maxim, were admitted into the supreme assembly of the nation, and concurred with the sovereign in enacting laws or in imposing taxes. As the superior lord, according to the original plan of feudal policy, retained the direct property of those lands which he granted, in temporary possession, to his vassals; the law, even after fiefs became hereditary, still supposed this original practice to subsist. The great council of each nation, whether distinguished by the name of a parliament, a diet, the cortes, or the states-general, was composed entirely of such barons and dignified ecclesiastics as held immediately of the crown. Towns, whether situated within the royal domain or on the lands of a subject, depended originally for protection on the lord of whom they held. They had no legal name, no political existence, which could entitle them to be admitted into the legislative assembly, or could give them any authority there. But as soon as they were enfranchised, and formed into bodies corporate, they became legal and independent members of the constitution, and acquired all the rights essential to freemen. Amongst these the most valuable was the privilege of a decisive voice in enacting public laws and granting national subsidies. It was natural for cities accustomed to a form of municipal government, according to which no regulation could be established within the community, and no money could be raised but by their own consent, to claim this privilege. The wealth, the power, and consideration, which they acquired on recovering their liberty, added weight to their claim; and favourable events happened, or fortunate conjunctures occurred, in the different kingdoms of Europe, which facilitated their obtaining possession of this important right. In England, one of the first countries in which the representatives of boroughs were admitted into the great council of the nation, the barons who took arms against Henry III. summoned them to attend parliament, in order to add greater popularity to

their party, and to strengthen the barrier against the encroachment of regal power. In France, Philip the Fair, a monarch no less sagacious than enterprising, considered them as instruments which might be employed with equal advantage to extend the royal prerogative, to counterbalance the exorbitant power of the nobles, and to facilitate the imposition of new taxes. With these views he introduced the deputies of such towns as were formed into communities, into the states-general of the nation. In the empire, the wealth and immunities of the imperial cities placed them on a level with the most considerable members of the Germanic body. Conscious of their own power and dignity, they pretended to the privilege of forming a separate bench in the diet; and made good their pretensions.

But in what way soever the representatives of cities first gained a place in the legislature, that event had great influence on the form and genius of government. It tempered the rigour of aristocratical oppression with a proper mixture of popular liberty; it secured to the great body of the people, who had formerly no representatives, active and powerful guardians of their rights and privileges; it established an intermediate power between the king and the nobles, to which each had recourse alternately, and which at some times opposed the usurpations of the former, on other occasions checked the encroachments of the latter. Almost all the efforts in favour of liberty in every country of Europe have been made by this new power in the legislature. In proportion as it rose to consideration and influence, the severity of the aristocratical spirit decreased; and the privileges of the people became gradually more extensive, as the ancient and exorbitant jurisdiction of the nobles was abridged.

IV. The inhabitants of towns having been declared free by the charters of communities, that part of the people which resided in the country, and was employed in agriculture, began to recover liberty by



enfranchisement. During the rigour of feudal government, as hath been already observed, the great body of the lower people was reduced to servitude. They were slaves fixed to the soil which they cultivated, and together with it were transferred from one proprietor to another, by sale or by conveyance.

But the freedom and independence which one part of the people had obtained by the institution of communities inspired the other with the most ardent desire of acquiring the same privileges; and their superiors, sensible of the various advantages which they had derived from their former concessions to their dependents, were less unwilling to gratify them by the grant of new immunities. The enfranchisement of slaves became more frequent; and the monarchs of France, prompted by necessity no less than by their inclination to reduce the power of the nobles, endeavoured to render it general. Louis X. and Philip the Long issued ordinances, declaring, 'That as all men were by nature free born, and as their kingdom was called the kingdom of Franks, they determined that it should be so in reality as well as in name; therefore they appointed that enfranchisements should be granted throughout the whole kingdom, upon just and reasonable conditions.' These edicts were carried into immediate execution within the royal domain. The example of their sovereigns, together with the expectation of considerable sums which they might raise by this expedient, led many of the nobles to set their dependants at liberty; and servitude was gradually abolished in almost every province of the kingdom. In Italy, the establishment of republican government in their great cities, the genius and maxims of which were extremely different from those of the feudal policy, together with the ideas of equality, which the progress of commerce had rendered familiar, gradually introduced the practice of enfranchising the ancient *predial* slaves. In some provinces of Germany, the persons who had been subject to this species of bondage were

released; in others the rigour of their state was mitigated. In England, as the spirit of liberty gained ground, the very name and idea of personal servitude, without any formal interposition of the legislature to prohibit it, was totally banished.

The effects of such a remarkable change in the condition of so great a part of the people could not fail of being considerable and extensive. The odious names of master and of slave, the most mortifying and depressing of all distinctions to human nature, were abolished; and a numerous class of men, who formerly had no political existence, and were employed merely as instruments of labour, became useful citizens, and contributed towards augmenting the force or riches of the society which adopted them as members.

V. The various expedients which were employed in order to introduce a more regular, equal, and vigorous administration of justice, contributed greatly towards the improvement of society. What were the particular modes of dispensing justice, in their several countries, among the various barbarous nations which overran the Roman empire, and took possession of its different provinces, cannot now be determined with certainty. We may conclude, from the form of government established among them, as well as from their ideas concerning the nature of society, that the authority of the magistrate was extremely limited, and the independence of individuals proportionally great. The magistrate could hardly be said to hold the sword of justice; it was left in the hands of private persons. Resentment was almost the sole motive for prosecuting crimes, and to gratify that passion was considered as the chief end in punishing them. He who suffered the wrong was the only person who had a right to pursue the aggressor, and to exact or to remit the punishment. From a system of judicial procedure, so crude and defective that it seems to be scarcely compatible with the subsistence of civil society, disorder and

anarchy naturally flowed. To provide remedies for these evils, so as to give a more regular course to justice, was, during several centuries, one great object of political wisdom. The regulations for this purpose may be reduced to three general heads. To explain these, and to point out the manner in which they operated, is an important article in the history of society among the nations of Europe.

1. The first considerable step towards establishing an equal administration of justice, was the abolishment of the right which individuals claimed of waging war with each other, in their own name and by their own authority.

The different kingdoms of Europe were torn and afflicted, during several centuries, by intestine wars, excited by private animosities, and carried on with all the rage natural to men of fierce manners and of violent passions. The estate of every baron was a kind of independent territory disjoined from those around it, and the hostilities between them seldom ceased. The evil became so inveterate and deep-rooted, that the form and laws of private war were ascertained, and regulations concerning it made a part in the system of jurisprudence, in the same manner as if this practice had been founded in some natural right of humanity, or in the original constitution of civil society.

So great was the disorder, and such the calamities, which these perpetual hostilities occasioned, that various efforts were made to wrest from the nobles this pernicious privilege. It was the interest of every sovereign to abolish a practice which almost annihilated his authority. Charlemagne prohibited it by an express law, as an invention of the devil to destroy the order and happiness of society; but the reign of one monarch, however vigorous and active, was too short to extirpate a custom so firmly established. Instead of enforcing this prohibition, his feeble successors durst venture on nothing more than to apply palliatives. They declared it unlaw-



ful for any person to commence war until he had sent a formal defiance to the kindred and dependants of his adversary; they ordained, that after the commission of the trespass or crime which gave rise to a private war, forty days must elapse before the person injured should attack the vassals of his adversary; they enjoined all persons to suspend their private animosities, and to cease from hostilities, when the king was engaged in any war against the enemies of the nation. The church co-operated with the civil magistrate, and interposed its authority in order to extirpate a practice so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. But this junction of civil and ecclesiastic authority, though strengthened by every thing most apt to alarm and to overawe the credulous spirit of those ages, produced no other effect than some temporary suspensions of hostilities, and a cessation from war on certain days and seasons consecrated to the more solemn acts of devotion. The nobles continued to assert this dangerous privilege; they refused to obey some of the laws calculated to annul or circumscribe it; they eluded others; they petitioned; they remonstrated; they struggled for the right of private war, as the highest and most honourable distinction of their order. Even so late as the fourteenth century, we find the nobles in several provinces of France contending for their ancient method of terminating their differences by the sword in preference to that of submitting them to the decision of any judge. The final abolition of this practice in that kingdom and the other countries in which it prevailed, is not to be ascribed so much to the force of statutes and decrees, as to the gradual increase of the royal authority, and to the imperceptible progress of juster sentiments concerning government, order, and public security.

2. The prohibition of the form of trial by judicial combat was another considerable step towards the introduction of such regular government as secured public order and private tranquillity. As the right

of private war left many of the quarrels among individuals to be decided, like those between nations, by arms; the form of trial by judicial combat, which was established in every country of Europe, banished equity from courts of justice, and rendered chance or force the arbiter of their determinations. In civilized nations, all transactions of any importance are concluded in writing. The exhibition of the deed or instrument is full evidence of the fact, and ascertains with precision what each party has stipulated to perform. But among a rude people, when the arts of reading and writing were such uncommon attainments, that to be master of either entitled a person to the appellation of a clerk or learned man, scarcely any thing was committed to writing but treaties between princes, their grants and charters to their subjects, or such transactions between private parties as were of extraordinary consequence, or had an extensive effect. The greater part of affairs in common life and business was carried on by verbal contracts or promises. This, in many civil questions, not only made it difficult to bring proof sufficient to establish any claim, but encouraged falsehood and fraud, by rendering them extremely easy. Even in criminal cases, where a particular fact must be ascertained, or an accusation must be disproved, the nature and effect of legal evidence were little understood by barbarous nations. To define with accuracy that species of evidence which a court had reason to expect; to determine when it ought to insist on positive proof, and when it should be satisfied with a proof from circumstances; to compare the testimony of discordant witnesses, and to fix the degree of credit due to each, were discussions too intricate and subtile for the jurisprudence of ignorant ages. In order to avoid encumbering themselves with these, a more simple form of procedure was introduced into courts as well civil as criminal. In all cases where the notoriety of the fact did not furnish the clearest and

most direct evidence, the person accused, or he against whom an action was brought, was called legally, or offered voluntarily, to purge himself by oath; and upon his declaring his innocence, he was instantly acquitted. This absurd practice effectually screened guilt and fraud from detection and punishment, by rendering the temptation to perjury so powerful, that it was not easy to resist it. The pernicious effects of it were sensibly felt; and in order to guard against them, the laws ordained that oaths should be administered with great solemnity, and accompanied with every circumstance which could inspire religious reverence or superstitious terror. This, however, proved a feeble remedy: these ceremonious rites became familiar, and their impression on the imagination gradually diminished; men who could venture to disregard truth were not apt to startle at the solemnities of an oath. Their observation of this put legislators upon devising a new expedient for rendering the purgation by oath more certain and satisfactory. They required the person accused to appear with a certain number of freemen, his neighbours or relations, who corroborated the oath which he took, by swearing that they believed all that he had uttered to be true. These were called *compurgators*, and their number varied according to the importance of the subject in dispute, or the nature of the crime with which a person was charged. In some cases the concurrence of no less than three hundred of these auxiliary witnesses was requisite to acquit the person accused. But even this device was found to be ineffectual. It was a point of honour with every man in Europe, during several ages, not to desert the chief on whom he depended, and to stand by those with whom the ties of blood connected him. Whoever then was bold enough to violate the laws, was sure of devoted adherents, willing to abet and eager to serve him in whatever manner he required. The formality of calling compurgators proved an apparent not a real



security against falsehood and perjury; and the sentences of courts, while they continued to refer every point in question to the oath of the defendant, became so flagrantly iniquitous as to excite universal indignation against this method of procedure.

Sensible of these defects, but strangers to the manner of correcting them, or of introducing a more proper form, our ancestors, as an infallible method of discovering truth and of guarding against deception, appealed to Heaven, and referred every point in dispute to be determined, as they imagined, by the decisions of unerring wisdom and impartial justice. The person accused, in order to prove his innocence, submitted to trial, in certain cases, either by plunging his arm in boiling water, or by lifting a red-hot iron with his naked hand, or by walking barefoot over burning ploughshares, or by other experiments equally perilous and formidable. On other occasions he challenged his accuser to fight him in single combat. All these various forms of trial were conducted with many devout ceremonies; the ministers of religion were employed, the Almighty was called upon to interpose for the manifestation of guilt and for the protection of innocence; and whoever escaped unhurt, or came off victorious, was pronounced to be acquitted by the *judgment of God*.

Among all the whimsical and absurd institutions which owe their existence to the weakness of human reason, this, which submitted questions that affected the property, the reputation, and the lives of men, to the determination of chance, or of bodily strength and address, appears to be the most extravagant and preposterous. Yet during the dark ages all the nations of Europe considered this equivocal mode of deciding any point in contest, as a direct appeal to Heaven, and a certain method of discovering its will.

With this superstitious opinion the martial spirit of Europe, during the middle ages, concurred in

establishing the mode of trial by judicial combat. To be ready to maintain with his sword whatever his lips had uttered, was the first maxim of honour with every gentleman. To assert their own rights by force of arms, to inflict vengeance on those who had injured or affronted them, were the distinction and pride of high-spirited nobles. The form of trial by combat, coinciding with this maxim, flattered and gratified these passions. Every man was the guardian of his own honour and of his own life; the justice of his cause, as well as his future reputation, depended on his own courage and prowess. This mode of decision was considered, accordingly, as one of the happiest efforts of wise policy; and as soon as it was introduced, all the forms of trial by fire or water, and other superstitious experiments, fell into disuse, or were employed only in controversies between persons of inferior rank. As it was the privilege of a gentleman to claim the trial by combat, it was quickly authorized over all Europe, and received in every country with equal satisfaction. Not only questions concerning uncertain or contested facts, but general and abstract points in law, were determined by the issue of a combat. Not only might parties whose minds were exasperated by the eagerness and the hostility of opposition defy their antagonist, and require him to make good his charge, or to prove his innocence with his sword; but witnesses, who had no interest in the issue of the question, though called to declare the truth by laws which ought to have afforded them protection, were equally exposed to the danger of a challenge, and equally bound to assert the veracity of their evidence by dint of arms. To complete the absurdities of this military jurisprudence, even the character of a judge was not sacred from its violence. Any one of the parties might interrupt a judge when about to deliver his opinion, might accuse him of iniquity and corruption in the most reproachful terms, and throwing down his gauntlet, might challenge him to de-

send his integrity in the field ; nor could he, without infamy, refuse to accept the defiance, or decline to enter the lists against such an adversary.

Thus the form of trial by combat, like other abuses, spread gradually, and extended to all persons and almost to all cases. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, superannuated and infirm persons, who could not with decency or justice be compelled to take arms, or to maintain their own cause, were obliged to produce champions, who offered from affection, or were engaged by rewards, to fight their battles. The solemnities of a judicial combat were such as were natural in an action which was considered both as a formal appeal to God, and as the final decision of questions of the highest moment. Every circumstance relating to them was regulated by the edicts of princes, and explained in the comments of lawyers, with a minute and even superstitious accuracy. Skill in these laws and rites was frequently the only science of which warlike nobles boasted, or which they were ambitious to attain.

By this barbarous custom, the natural course of proceeding, both in civil and criminal questions, was entirely perverted. Force usurped the place of equity in courts of judicature, and Justice was banished from her proper mansion. Discernment, learning, and integrity, were qualities less necessary to a judge than bodily strength and dexterity in the use of arms. Daring courage, and superior vigour or address, were of more moment towards securing the favourable issue of a suit, than the equity of a cause, or the clearness of the evidence.

These pernicious effects of the trial by combat were so obvious, that they did not altogether escape the view of the unobserving age in which it was introduced. The clergy, from the beginning, remonstrated against it as repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and subversive of justice and order. But the maxims and passions which favoured it had taken such hold of the minds of men, that they



disregarded admonitions and censures which on other occasions would have struck them with terror. The evil was too great and inveterate to yield to that remedy, and continuing to increase, the civil power at length found it necessary to interpose. Conscious, however, of their own limited authority, monarchs proceeded with caution, and their first attempts to restrain or to set any bounds to this practice were extremely feeble. One of the earliest restrictions of this practice which occurs in the history of Europe, is that of Henry I. of England. It extended no farther than to prohibit the trial by combat in questions concerning property of small value. Louis VII. of France imitated his example, and issued an edict to the same effect. St. Louis, whose ideas as a legislator were far superior to those of his age, endeavoured to introduce a more perfect jurisprudence, and to substitute the trial by evidence in place of that by combat. But his regulations with respect to this were confined to his own domains; for the great vassals of the crown possessed such independent authority, and were so fondly attached to the ancient practice, that he had not power to venture to extend it to the whole kingdom. Some barons voluntarily adopted his regulations. The spirit of courts of justice became averse to the mode of decision by combat, and discouraged it on every occasion. The nobles nevertheless thought it so honourable to depend for the security of their lives and fortunes on their own courage alone, and contended with so much vehemence for the preservation of this favourite privilege of their order, that the successors of St. Louis, unable to oppose, and afraid of offending, such powerful subjects, were obliged not only to tolerate, but to authorize, the practice which he had attempted to abolish. In other countries of Europe, efforts equally zealous were employed to maintain the established custom, and similar concessions were extorted from their respective sovereigns. The struggle subsisted for several centu-

ries; sometimes the new regulations and ideas seemed to gain ground; sometimes ancient habits recurred; and though, upon the whole, the trial by combat went more and more into disuse, yet instances of it occur as late as the sixteenth century, in the histories both of France and of England. In proportion as it declined, the regular administration of justice was restored, the proceedings of courts were directed by known laws, the study of these became an object of attention to judges, and the people of Europe advanced fast towards civility, when this great cause of the ferocity of their manners was removed.

By authorizing the right of appeal from the courts of the baron to those of the king, and subjecting the decisions of the former to the review of the latter, a new step not less considerable than those which I have already mentioned, was taken towards establishing the regular, consistent, and vigorous administration of justice. Among all the encroachments of the feudal nobles on the prerogative of their monarchs, their usurping the administration of justice with supreme authority, both in civil and criminal causes, within the precincts of their own estates, was the most singular. In other nations subjects have contended with their sovereigns, and have endeavoured to extend their own power and privileges; but in the history of their struggles and pretensions we discover nothing similar to this right which the feudal barons claimed and obtained. Every chieftain was the commander of his tribe in war, and their judge in peace. Every baron led his vassals to the field, and administered justice to them in his hall. The high-spirited dependents would not have recognised any other authority, or have submitted to any other jurisdiction. But in times of turbulence and violence, the exercise of this new function was attended not only with trouble but with danger. No person could assume the character of a judge, if he did not possess power sufficient to protect the one party from

the violence of private revenge, and to compel the other to accept of such reparation as he enjoined. In consideration of the extraordinary efforts which this office required, judges, besides the fine which they appointed to be paid as a compensation to the person or family who had been injured, levied an additional sum as a recompence for their own labour; and in all the feudal kingdoms the latter was not only as precisely ascertained, but as regularly exacted, as the former.

Thus, by the natural operation of circumstances peculiar to the manners or political state of the feudal nations, separate and territorial jurisdictions came not only to be established in every kingdom, but were established in such a way that the interest of the barons concurred with their ambition in maintaining and extending them. It was not merely a point of honour with the feudal nobles to dispense justice to their vassals, but from the exercise of that power arose one capital branch of their revenue; and the emoluments of their courts were frequently the main support of their dignity. It was with infinite zeal that they asserted and defended this high privilege of their order. By this institution, however, every kingdom in Europe was split into as many separate principalities as it contained powerful barons. Their vassals, whether in peace or in war, were hardly sensible of any authority but that of their immediate superior lord. They felt themselves subject to no other command. They were amenable at no other tribunal. The jurisdiction of the royal judges scarcely reached beyond the narrow limits of the king's demesnes. Instead of a regular gradation of courts, all acknowledging the authority of the same general laws, and looking up to these as the guides of their decisions, there were in every feudal kingdom a number of independent tribunals, the proceedings of which were directed by local customs and contradictory forms. The collision of jurisdiction among these different courts often retarded the



execution of justice. The variety and caprice of their modes of procedure must have for ever kept the administration of it from attaining any degree of uniformity or perfection.

All the monarchs of Europe perceived these encroachments on their jurisdiction, and bore them with impatience. But the usurpations of the nobles were so firmly established, and the danger of endeavouring to overturn them by open force was so manifest, that kings were obliged to remain satisfied with attempts to undermine them. Various expedients were employed for this purpose; each of which merits attention, as they mark the progress of law and equity in the several kingdoms of Europe. At first princes endeavoured to circumscribe the jurisdiction of the barons, by contending that they ought to take cognizance only of smaller offences, reserving those of greater moment, under the appellation of *Pleas of the Crown* and *Royal Causes*, to be tried in the king's courts. This, however, affected only the barons of inferior note; the more powerful nobles scorned such a distinction, and not only claimed unlimited jurisdiction, but obliged their sovereigns to grant them charters, conveying or recognising this privilege in the most ample form. The attempt, nevertheless, was productive of some good consequences, and paved the way for more. It turned the attention of men towards a jurisdiction distinct from that of the baron whose vassals they were; it accustomed them to the pretensions of superiority which the crown claimed over territorial judges; and taught them when oppressed by their own superior lord, to look up to their sovereign as their protector. This facilitated the introduction of appeals, by which princes brought the decisions of the barons' courts under the review of the royal judges. While trial by combat subsisted in full vigour, no point decided according to that mode could be brought under the review of another court. It had been referred to the judgment of God; the

issue of battle had declared his will; and it would have been impious to have called in question the equity of the divine decision. But as soon as that barbarous custom began to fall into disuse, princes encouraged the vassals of the barons to sue for redress by appealing to the royal courts. The progress of this practice, however, was slow and gradual. The first instances of appeals were on account of *the delay* or *the refusal of justice* in the barons' court; and as these were countenanced by the ideas of subordination in the feudal constitution, the nobles allowed them to be introduced without much opposition. But when these were followed by appeals on account of *the justice* or *iniquity of the sentence*, the nobles then began to be sensible that in this innovation became general, the shadow of power alone would remain in their hands, and all real authority and jurisdiction would centre in those courts which possessed the right of review. They instantly took the alarm, remonstrated against the encroachment, and contended boldly for their ancient privileges. But the monarchs in the different kingdoms of Europe pursued their plan with steadiness and prudence. Though forced to suspend their operations on some occasions, and seemingly to yield when any formidable confederacy of their vassals united against them, they resumed their measures as soon as they observed the nobles to be remiss or feeble, and pushed them with vigour. They appointed the royal courts, which originally were ambulatory, and irregular with respect to their times of meeting, to be held in a fixed place and at stated seasons. They were solicitous to name judges of more distinguished abilities than such as usually presided in the courts of the barons. They added dignity to their character and splendour to their assemblies. They laboured to render their forms regular and their decrees consistent. Such judicatories became, of course, the objects of public confidence as well as veneration. The people, relinquish-

ing the tribunals of their lords, were eager to bring every subject of contest under the more equal and discerning eye of those whom their sovereign had chosen to give judgment in his name. Thus kings became once more the heads of the community and the dispensers of justice to their subjects. The barons in some kingdoms ceased to exercise the right of jurisdiction, because it sunk into contempt; in others it was circumscribed by such regulations as rendered it innocent, or it was entirely abolished by express statutes. Thus the administration of justice, taking its rise from one source and following one direction, held its course in every state with more uniformity and with greater force.

VI. The forms and maxims of the canon law, which were become universally respectable from their authority in the spiritual courts, contributed not a little towards those improvements in jurisprudence which I have enumerated. If we consider the canon law politically, and view it either as a system framed on purpose to assist the clergy in usurping powers and jurisdiction no less repugnant to the nature of their function than inconsistent with the order of government, or as the chief instrument in establishing the dominion of the popes, which shook the throne and endangered the liberties of every kingdom in Europe, we must pronounce it one of the most formidable engines ever formed against the happiness of civil society. But if we contemplate it merely as a code of laws respecting the rights and property of individuals, and attend only to the civil effects of its decisions concerning these, it will appear in a different and a much more favourable light. In ages of ignorance and credulity, the ministers of religion are the objects of superstitious veneration. When the barbarians who overran the Roman empire first embraced the Christian faith, they found the clergy in possession of considerable power; and they naturally transferred to those new guides the profound submission and reverence which



they were accustomed to yield to the priests of that religion which they had forsaken. They deemed their persons to be equally sacred with their function; and would have considered it as impious to subject them to the profane jurisdiction of the laity. The clergy were not blind to these advantages which the weakness of mankind afforded them. They established courts in which every question relating to their own character, their function, or their property, was tried. They pleaded and obtained an almost total exemption from the authority of civil judges. Upon different pretexts, and by a multiplicity of artifices, they communicated this privilege to so many persons, and extended their jurisdiction to such a variety of cases, that the greater part of those affairs which gave rise to contest and litigation was drawn under the cognizance of the spiritual courts.

But in order to dispose the laity to suffer these usurpations without murmur or opposition, it was necessary to convince them that the administration of justice would be rendered more perfect by the establishment of this new jurisdiction. This was not a difficult undertaking at that period, when ecclesiastics carried on their encroachments with the greatest success. That scanty portion of science which served to guide men in the ages of darkness was almost entirely engrossed by the clergy. They alone were accustomed to read, to inquire, and to reason. Whatever knowledge of ancient jurisprudence had been preserved, either by tradition or in such books as had escaped the destructive rage of barbarians, was possessed by them. Upon the maxims of that excellent system they founded a code of laws consonant to the great principles of equity. Being directed by fixed and known rules, the forms of their courts were ascertained, and their decisions became uniform and consistent.

It is not surprising, then, that ecclesiastical jurisprudence should become such an object of admiration and respect, that exemption from civil jurisdiction

was courted as a privilege and conferred as a reward. It is not surprising that, even to a rude people, the maxims of the canon law should appear more equal and just than those of the ill-digested jurisprudence which directed all proceedings in civil courts. The one, by permitting judicial combats, left chance and force to be arbiters of right or wrong, of truth or falsehood; the other passed judgment with respect to these by the maxims of equity and the testimony of witnesses. Any error or iniquity in a sentence pronounced by a baron to whom feudal jurisdiction belonged, was irremediable, because originally it was subject to the review of no superior tribunal: the ecclesiastical law established a regular gradation of courts, through all which a cause might be carried by appeal, until it was determined by that authority which was held to be supreme in the church. Thus the genius and principles of the canon law prepared men for approving those three great alterations in the feudal jurisprudence which I have mentioned. But it was not with respect to these points alone that the canon law suggested improvement beneficial to society. Many of the regulations now deemed the barriers of personal security, or the safeguards of private property, are contrary to the spirit and repugnant to the maxims of the civil jurisprudence known in Europe during several centuries, and were borrowed from the rules and practice of the ecclesiastical courts. By observing the wisdom and equity of the decisions in these courts, men began to perceive the necessity either of deserting the martial tribunals of the barons, or of attempting to reform them.

VII. The revival of the knowledge and study of the Roman law co-operated with the causes which I have mentioned, in introducing more just and liberal ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice. Among the calamities which the devastations of the barbarians who broke in upon the empire brought upon mankind,

one of the greatest was their overturning the system of Roman jurisprudence, the noblest monument of the wisdom of that great people, formed to subdue and to govern the world. The laws and regulations of a civilized community were repugnant to the manners and ideas of these fierce invaders. They had no respect to objects of which a rude people had no conception, and were adapted to a state of society with which they were entirely unacquainted. For this reason, wherever they settled the Roman jurisprudence soon sunk into oblivion, and lay buried for some centuries under the load of those institutions which the inhabitants of Europe dignified with the name of laws. But towards the middle of the twelfth century, a copy of Justinian's Pandects was accidentally discovered in Italy. By that time the state of society was so far advanced, and the ideas of men so much enlarged and improved, that they were struck with admiration of a system which their ancestors could not comprehend. All men of letters studied this new science with eagerness; and within a few years after the discovery of the Pandects, professors of civil law were appointed, who taught it publicly in most countries of Europe.

The effects of having such an excellent model to study and to imitate were immediately perceived. Men, as soon as they were acquainted with fixed and general laws, perceived the advantage of them, and became impatient to ascertain the principles and forms by which judges should regulate their decisions. Such was the ardour with which they carried on an undertaking of so great importance to society, that before the close of the twelfth century, the feudal law was reduced into a regular system; the code of canon law was enlarged and methodized; and the loose uncertain customs of different provinces or kingdoms, were collected and arranged with an order and accuracy acquired from the knowledge of Roman jurisprudence. In some countries of Europe the Roman law was adopted as



subsidiary to their own municipal law, and all cases to which the latter did not extend, were decided according to the principles of the former. In others, the maxims as well as forms of Roman jurisprudence mingled imperceptibly with the laws of the country, and had a powerful though less sensible influence in improving and perfecting them.

These various improvements in the system of jurisprudence and administration of justice, occasioned a change in manners of great importance, and of extensive effect. They gave rise to a distinction of professions; they obliged men to cultivate different talents, and to aim at different accomplishments, in order to qualify themselves for the various departments and functions which became necessary in society. Among uncivilized nations there is but one profession honourable, that of arms. This was the state of Europe during several centuries. Every gentleman, born a soldier, scorned any other occupation; he was taught no science but that of war. Nor did the judicial character, which persons of noble birth were alone entitled to assume, demand any degree of knowledge beyond that which such untutored soldiers possessed. To recollect a few traditional customs which time had confirmed and rendered respectable; to mark out the lists of battle with due formality; to observe the issue of the combat; and to pronounce whether it had been conducted according to the laws of arms, included every thing that a baron who acted as a judge found it necessary to understand.

But when the forms of legal proceedings were fixed, when the rules of decision were committed to writing, and collected into a body, law became a science, the knowledge of which required a regular course of study, together with long attention to the practice of courts. Martial and illiterate nobles had neither leisure nor inclination to undertake a task so laborious, as well as so foreign from all the occupations which they deemed entertaining or suitable to

their rank. They gradually relinquished their places in courts of justice, where their ignorance exposed them to contempt. Not only the judicial determination of points which were the subject of controversy, but the conduct of all legal business and transactions, was committed to persons trained by previous study and application, to the knowledge of law. Thus another profession than that of arms came to be introduced among the laity, and was reputed honourable. The functions of civil life were attended to: the talents requisite for discharging them were cultivated. A new road was opened to wealth and eminence. The arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank, and received their due recompence.

VIII. While improvements so important with respect to the state of society and the administration of justice gradually made progress in Europe, sentiments more liberal and generous had begun to animate the nobles. These were inspired by the spirit of chivalry, which, though considered, commonly, as a wild institution, the effect of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society at that period, and had a very serious influence in refining the manners of the European nations. The feudal state was a state of almost perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy; during which the weak and unarmed were exposed to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the administration of justice too feeble to redress them. The most effectual protection against violence and oppression was often found to be that which the valour and generosity of private persons afforded. The same spirit of enterprise which had prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land under the dominion of infidels put an end to these foreign expeditions, the latter

was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. To check the insolence of overgrown oppressors; to rescue the helpless from captivity; to protect or avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence; to redress wrongs and to remove grievances, were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. To these was added religion, which mingled itself with every passion and institution during the middle ages, and by infusing a large proportion of enthusiastic zeal, gave them such force as carried them to romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous discipline; they were admitted into the order by solemnities no less devout than pompous; every person of noble birth courted that honour; it was deemed a distinction superior to royalty; and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen.

This singular institution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion, were so strangely blended, was wonderfully adapted to the taste and genius of martial nobles; and its effects were soon visible in their manners. War was carried on with less ferocity when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood no less than courage. More gentle and polished manners were introduced when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues. Violence and oppression decreased when it was reckoned meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to those points. The wild exploits of those romantic knights who sallied forth in quest of adventures are well known, and have been treated with proper ridicule. The political and permanent effects of the



spirit of chivalry have been less observed. Perhaps the humanity which accompanies all the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry, and the point of honour, the three chief circumstances which distinguish modern from ancient manners, may be ascribed in a great measure to this institution, which has appeared whimsical to superficial observers, but by its effects has proved of great benefit to mankind. The sentiments which chivalry inspired had a wonderful influence on manners and conduct during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They were so deeply rooted, that they continued to operate after the vigour and reputation of the institution itself began to decline. Some considerable transactions recorded in the following history resemble the adventurous exploits of chivalry rather than the well-regulated operations of sound policy. Some of the most eminent personages, whose characters will be delineated, were strongly tinctured with this romantic spirit. Francis I. was ambitious to distinguish himself by all the qualities of an accomplished knight, and endeavoured to imitate the enterprising genius of chivalry in war, as well as its pomp and courtesy during peace. The fame which the French monarch acquired by these splendid actions so far dazzled his more temperate rival, that he departed on some occasions from his usual prudence and moderation, and emulated Francis in deeds of prowess or of gallantry.

IX. The progress of science, and the cultivation of literature, had considerable effect in changing the manners of the European nations, and introducing that civility and refinement by which they are now distinguished. At the time when their empire was overturned, the Romans, though they had lost that correct taste which has rendered the productions of their ancestors standards of excellence and models of imitation for succeeding ages, still preserved their love of letters, and cultivated the arts with great

ardour. But rude barbarians were so far from being struck with any admiration of these unknown accomplishments, that they despised them; and as they did not comprehend either the merit or utility of the Roman arts, they destroyed the monuments of them with an industry not inferior to that with which their posterity have since studied to preserve or to recover them. The convulsions occasioned by the settlement of so many unpolished tribes in the empire; the frequent as well as violent revolutions in every kingdom which they established, together with the interior defects in the form of government which they introduced, banished security and leisure; prevented the growth of taste or the culture of science; and kept Europe, during several centuries, in that state of ignorance which has been already described. But the events and institutions which I have enumerated produced great alterations in society. Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, we discern the first symptoms of an awakening of the human mind from that lethargy in which it had been long sunk, and observe it turning with curiosity and attention towards new objects.

The first literary efforts, however, of the European nations in the middle ages were extremely ill-directed. Among nations as well as individuals, the powers of imagination attain some degree of vigour before the intellectual faculties are much exercised in speculative or abstract disquisition. Men are poets before they are philosophers. They feel with sensibility and describe with force, when they have made but little progress in investigation or reasoning. The age of Homer and of Hesiod long preceded that of Thales or of Socrates. But unhappily for literature, our ancestors, deviating from this course which nature points out, plunged at once into the depths of abstruse and metaphysical inquiry. They had been converted to the Christian faith soon after they settled in their new conquests. But they did not receive it pure. The presumption of men

had added to the simple and instructive doctrines of Christianity the theories of a vain philosophy, that attempted to penetrate into mysteries and to decide questions which the limited faculties of the human mind are unable to comprehend or to resolve. These over-curious speculations were incorporated with the system of religion, and came to be considered as the most essential part of it. As soon, then, as curiosity prompted men to inquire and to reason, these were the subjects which first presented themselves and engaged their attention. The scholastic theology, with its infinite train of bold disquisitions and subtle distinctions concerning points which are not the object of human reason, was the first production of the spirit of inquiry, after it began to resume some degree of activity and vigour in Europe.

But fruitless and ill-directed as these speculations were, their novelty roused and their boldness interested the human mind. The ardour with which men pursued those uninviting studies was astonishing. Genuine philosophy was never cultivated, in any enlightened age, with more zeal. Schools upon the model of those instituted by Charlemagne were opened in every cathedral, and almost in every monastery of note. Colleges and universities were erected and formed into communities or corporations, governed by their own laws, and invested with separate and extensive jurisdiction over their own members. A regular course of studies was planned. Privileges of great value were conferred on masters and scholars. Academical titles and honours of various kinds were invented as a recompence for both. Allured by all these advantages, an incredible number of students resorted to those new seats of learning, and crowded with eagerness into that new path which was opened to fame and distinction.

But how considerable soever these first efforts may appear, there was one circumstance which prevented the effects of them from being as extensive as they naturally ought to have been. All the



languages in Europe, during the period under review, were barbarous. They were destitute of elegance, of force, and even of perspicuity. No attempt had been hitherto made to improve or to polish them. The Latin tongue was consecrated by the church to religion. Custom, with authority scarcely less sacred, had appropriated it to literature. All the sciences cultivated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were taught in Latin. All books with respect to them were written in that language. It would have been deemed a degradation of any important subject, to have treated of it in a modern language. This confined science within a very narrow circle. The learned alone were admitted into the temple of knowledge; the gate was shut against all others, who were suffered to remain involved in their former darkness and ignorance.

But though science was thus prevented, during several ages, from diffusing itself through society, and its influence was much circumscribed; the progress which it made may be mentioned, nevertheless, among the great causes which contributed to introduce a change of manners into Europe. The ardent though ill-judged spirit of inquiry which I have described, occasioned a fermentation of mind that put ingenuity and invention in motion, and gave them vigour. It led men to a new employment of their faculties, which they found to be agreeable as well as interesting. It accustomed them to exercises and occupations which tended to soften their manners, and to give them some relish for the gentle virtues peculiar to people among whom science has been cultivated with success.

X. The progress of commerce had considerable influence in polishing the manners of the European nations, and in establishing among them order, equal laws, and humanity. We find, that the first effect of the settlement of the barbarians in the empire was to divide those nations which the Roman power had united. Europe was broken into many separate

communities. The intercourse between these divided states ceased almost entirely during several centuries. Navigation was dangerous in seas infested by pirates; nor could strangers trust to a friendly reception in the ports of uncivilized nations. Even between distant parts of the same kingdom, the communication was rare and difficult. The lawless rapine of banditti, together with the avowed exactions of the nobles, scarcely less formidable and oppressive, rendered a journey of any length a perilous enterprise. Fixed to the spot in which they resided, the greater part of the inhabitants of Europe lost, in a great measure, the knowledge of remote regions, and were unacquainted with their names, their situations, their climates, and their commodities.

Various causes, however, contributed to revive the spirit of commerce, and to renew, in some degree, the intercourse between different nations. The Italians, by their connexion with Constantinople and other cities of the Greek empire, had preserved in their own country considerable relish for the precious commodities and curious manufactures of the east. They communicated some knowledge of these to the countries contiguous to Italy. But this commerce being extremely limited, the intercourse which it occasioned between different nations was not considerable. The Crusades, by leading multitudes from every corner of Europe into Asia, opened a more extensive communication between the east and west, which subsisted for two centuries; and though the object of these expeditions was conquest and not commerce; though the issue of them proved as unfortunate as the motives for undertaking them were wild and enthusiastic; their commercial effects, as hath been shewn, were both beneficial and permanent. Soon after the close of the Holy War, the mariner's compass was invented, which, by rendering navigation more secure, encouraged it to become more adventurous, facilitated the communication be-

tween remote nations, and brought them nearer to each other.

The Italian states, during the same period, established a regular commerce with the east in the ports of Egypt, and drew from thence all the rich products of the Indies. They introduced into their own territories manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the commerce of Europe was almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, more commonly known in those ages by the name of Lombards. Companies or societies of Lombard merchants settled in every different kingdom. They were taken under the immediate protection of the several governments: they enjoyed extensive privileges and immunities. The operation of the ancient barbarous laws concerning strangers was suspended with respect to them. They became the carriers, the manufacturers, and the bankers, of all Europe.

While the Italians, in the south of Europe, were cultivating trade with such industry and success, the commercial spirit awakened in the north towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the nations around the Baltic were, at that time, extremely barbarous, and infested that sea with their piracies, the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, soon after they began to open some trade with these people, found it necessary to enter into a league of mutual defence. They derived such advantages from this union, that other towns acceded to their confederacy, and, in a short time, eighty of the most considerable cities scattered through those extensive countries which stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine, joined in the famous Hanseatic league, which became so formidable, that its alliance was courted and its enmity was dreaded by the greatest monarchs. The members of this powerful association formed the first systematic plan of commerce known in the middle ages, and conducted it by com-

mon laws enacted in their general assemblies. They supplied the rest of Europe with naval stores, and pitched on different towns, the most eminent of which was Bruges in Flanders, where they established staples in which their commerce was regularly carried on. Thither the Lombards brought the productions of India, together with the manufactures of Italy, and exchanged them for the more bulky but not less useful commodities of the north. The Hanseatic merchants disposed of the cargoes which they received from the Lombards, in the ports of the Baltic, or carried them up the great rivers into the interior parts of Germany.

This regular intercourse opened between the nations in the north and south of Europe made them sensible of their mutual wants, and created such new and increasing demands for commodities of every kind, that it excited among the inhabitants of the Netherlands a more vigorous spirit in carrying on the two great manufactures of wool and flax, which seem to have been considerable in that country as early as the age of Charlemagne. As Bruges became the centre of communication between the Lombard and Hanseatic merchants, the Flemings traded with both in that city to such extent as well as advantage, as spread among them a general habit of industry, which long rendered Flanders and the adjacent provinces the most opulent, the most populous, and best cultivated countries in Europe.

Struck with the flourishing state of these provinces, of which he discerned the true cause, Edward III. of England endeavoured to excite a spirit of industry among his own subjects, who, blinded to the advantages of their situation, and ignorant of the source from which opulence was destined to flow into their country, were so little attentive to their commercial interests, as hardly to attempt those manufactures the materials of which they furnished to foreigners. By alluring Flemish artisans to settle in his dominions, as well as by many wise laws for



the encouragement and regulation of trade, Edward gave a beginning to the woollen manufactures of England, and first turned the active and enterprising genius of his people towards those arts which have raised the English to the highest rank among commercial nations.

This increase of commerce and of intercourse between nations, how inconsiderable soever it may appear in respect of their rapid and extensive progress during the last and present age, seems wonderfully great when we compare it with the state of both in Europe previous to the twelfth century. It did not fail of producing great effects. Commerce tends to wear off those prejudices which maintain distinction and animosity between nations. It softens and polishes the manners of men. It unites them by one of the strongest of all ties, the desire of supplying their mutual wants. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects and adopted those manners which occupy and distinguish polished nations.

## SECTION II.

**View of the Progress of Society in Europe, with respect to the command of the national force requisite in foreign operations.**

SUCH are the events and institutions which, by their powerful operation, contributed gradually to introduce regular government and polished manners into the various nations of Europe. When we survey the state of society or the character of individuals at the opening of the fifteenth century, and then turn back to view the condition of both at the time when the barbarous tribes which overturned the Roman power completed their settlement in their new conquests, the progress which mankind had made towards order and refinement will appear immense.

Government, however, was still far from having

attained that state in which extensive monarchies act with the united vigour of the whole community, or carry on great undertakings with perseverance and success. Small tribes or communities, even in their rudest state, may operate in concert, and exert their utmost force. The insults of an enemy kindle resentment; the success of a rival tribe awakens emulation: these passions communicate from breast to breast, and all the members of the community with united ardour rush into the field, in order to gratify their revenge, or to acquire distinction. But in widely-extended states, such as the great kingdoms of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century, where there is little intercourse between the distant members of the community, and where every great enterprise requires previous concert and long preparation, nothing can rouse and call forth their united strength but the absolute command of a despot, or the powerful influence of regular policy.

But at the opening of the fifteenth century, the political constitution in all the kingdoms of Europe was very different from either of these states of government. The several monarchs, though they had somewhat enlarged the boundaries of prerogative by successful encroachments on the immunities and privileges of the nobility, were possessed of an authority extremely limited. The laws and interior police of kingdoms, though much improved by the various events and regulations which I have enumerated, were still feeble and imperfect. The ordinary revenues of every prince were so extremely small as to be inadequate to any great undertaking. He depended for extraordinary supplies on the goodwill of his subjects, who granted them often with a reluctant, and always with a sparing, hand. As the revenues of princes were inconsiderable, the armies which they could bring into the field were unfit for long and effectual service. Instead of being able to employ troops trained to skill in arms and to military subordination by regular discipline, monarchs were

obliged to depend on such forces as their vassals conducted to their standard in consequence of their military tenures. These, as they were bound to remain under arms only for a short time, could not march far from their usual place of residence, and being more attached to the lord of whom they held, than to the sovereign whom they served, were often as much disposed to counteract as to forward his schemes. Nor were they, even if they had been more subject to the command of the monarch, proper instruments to carry into execution any great and arduous enterprise. The strength of an army formed either for conquest or defence lies in infantry. To the stability and discipline of their legions, consisting chiefly of infantry, the Romans, during the times of the republic, were indebted for their victories; and when their descendants, forgetting the institutions which had led them to universal dominion, so far altered their military system as to place their principal confidence in a numerous cavalry, the undisciplined impetuosity of the barbarous nations, who fought mostly on foot, was sufficient, as I have already observed, to overcome them. These nations, soon after they settled in their new conquests, uninstructed by the fatal error of the Romans, relinquished the customs of their ancestors, and converted the chief force of their armies into cavalry. Among the Romans this change was occasioned by the effeminacy of their troops, who could not endure the fatigues of service, which their more virtuous and hardy ancestors had sustained with ease. Among the people who established the new monarchies into which Europe was divided, this innovation in military discipline seems to have flowed from the pride of the nobles, who, scorning to mingle with persons of inferior rank, aimed at being distinguished from them in the field as well as during peace. No gentleman would appear in the field but on horseback. To serve in any other manner he would have deemed derogatory to his rank. The cavalry, by way of distinction,

was called *The Battle*, and on it alone depended the fate of every action. The infantry, collected from the dregs and refuse of the people, ill armed and worse disciplined, was almost of no account.

As these circumstances rendered the operations of particular kingdoms less considerable and less vigorous, so they long kept the princes of Europe from giving such attention to the schemes and transactions of their neighbours as might lead them to form any regular system of public security. They were, of consequence, prevented from uniting in confederacy or from acting with concert, in order to establish such a distribution and balance of power, as should hinder any state from rising to a superiority which might endanger the general liberty and independence. During several centuries the nations of Europe appear to have considered themselves as separate societies, scarcely connected together by any common interest, and little concerned in each other's affairs or operations.

Whoever records the transactions of any of the more considerable European states during the two last centuries, must write the history of Europe. Its various kingdoms, throughout that period, have been formed into one great system, so closely united, that each holding a determinate station, the operations of one are so felt by all as to influence their counsels and regulate their measures. But previous to the fifteenth century, unless when vicinity of territory rendered the occasions of discord frequent and unavoidable, or when national emulation fomented or imbibited the spirit of hostility, the affairs of different countries are seldom interwoven with each other. In each kingdom of Europe great events and revolutions happened, which the other powers beheld with almost the same indifference as if they had been uninterested spectators, to whom the effect of these transactions could never extend.

During the violent struggles between France and England, and notwithstanding the alarming progress



which was made towards rendering one prince the master of both these kingdoms, hardly one measure which can be considered as the result of a sagacious and prudent policy was formed in order to guard against an event so fatal to Europe. The dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, whom their situation would not permit to remain neutral, engaged, it is true, in the contest; but in taking their part they seem rather to have followed the impulse of their passions than to have been guided by any just discernment of the danger which threatened themselves and the tranquillity of Europe. The other princes, seemingly unaffected by the alternate successes of the contending parties, left them to decide the quarrel by themselves, or interposed only by feeble and ineffectual negotiations.

Notwithstanding the perpetual hostilities in which the various kingdoms of Spain were engaged during several centuries, and the successive occurrences which visibly tended to unite that part of the continent into one great monarchy, the princes of Europe hardly took any step from which we may conclude that they gave a proper attention to that important event. They permitted a power to arise imperceptibly and to acquire strength there, which soon became formidable to all its neighbours.

Amidst the violent convulsions with which the spirit of domination in the see of Rome, and the turbulent ambition of the German nobles, agitated the empire, neither the authority of the popes, seconded by all their artifices and intrigues, nor the solicitations of the emperors, could induce any of the powerful monarchs in Europe to engage in their quarrel, or to avail themselves of many favourable opportunities of interposing with effect and advantage.

This amazing inactivity during transactions so interesting, is not to be imputed to any incapacity of discerning their political consequences. The power of judging with sagacity, and of acting with vigour, is the portion of men of every age. The monarchs

who reigned in the different kingdoms of Europe during several centuries were not blind to their particular interest, negligent of the public safety, or strangers to the method of securing both. If they did not adopt that salutary system which teaches modern politicians to take the alarm at the prospect of distant dangers, which prompts them to check the first encroachments of any formidable power, and which renders each state the guardian, in some degree, of the rights and independence of all its neighbours, this was owing entirely to such imperfections and disorders in the civil government of each country, as made it impossible for sovereigns to act suitably to those ideas which the posture of affairs and their own observation must have suggested.

But during the course of the fifteenth century, various events happened which, by giving princes more entire command of the force in their respective dominions, rendered their operations more vigorous and extensive. In consequence of this, the affairs of different kingdoms becoming more frequently as well as more intimately connected, they were gradually accustomed to act in concert and confederacy, and were insensibly prepared for forming a system of policy, in order to establish or to preserve such a balance of power as was most consistent with the general security. It was during the reign of Charles the Fifth, that the ideas on which this system is founded first came to be fully understood. It was then the maxims by which it has been uniformly maintained since that era were universally adopted. On this account a view of the causes and events which contributed to establish a plan of policy more salutary and extensive than any that has taken place in the conduct of human affairs, is not only a necessary introduction to the following work, but is a capital object in the history of Europe.

The first event that occasioned any considerable alteration in the arrangement of affairs in Europe, was the annexation of the extensive territories which

England possessed on the continent to the crown of France. While the English were masters of several of the most fertile and opulent provinces in France, and a great part of its most martial inhabitants was bound to follow their standard, an English monarch considered himself rather as the rival than as the vassal of the sovereign of whom he held. The kings of France, circumscribed and thwarted in their schemes and operations by an adversary no less jealous than formidable, durst not enter upon any enterprise of importance or of difficulty. The English were always at hand ready to oppose them. France, dismembered and overawed, could not attain its proper station in the system of Europe. But the death of Henry V. of England, happily for France, and not unfortunately for his own country, delivered the French from the calamity of having a foreign master seated on their throne. The weakness of a long minority, the dissensions in the English court, together with the unsteady and languid conduct which these occasioned, afforded the French a favourable opportunity of recovering the territories which they had lost. They not only wrested from the English their new conquests, but stripped them of their ancient possessions in France, and reduced them within the narrow precincts of Calais and its petty territory.

As soon as so many considerable provinces were reunited to their dominions, the kings of France, conscious of this acquisition of strength, began to form bolder schemes of interior policy, as well as of foreign operations. They immediately became formidable to their neighbours, who began to fix their attention on their measures and motions, the importance of which they fully perceived. From his era France, possessed of the advantages which it derives from the situation and contiguity of its territories, as well as from the number and valour of its people, rose to new influence in Europe, and was the

first power in a condition to give alarm to the jealousy or fears of the states around it.

Nor was France indebted for this increase of importance merely to the reunion of the provinces which had been torn from it. A circumstance attended the recovery of these, which, though less considerable and less observed, contributed not a little to give additional vigour and decision to all the efforts of that monarchy. During the obstinate struggles between France and England, all the defects of the military system under the feudal government were sensibly felt. A body of troops kept constantly on foot, and regularly trained to military subordination, would have supplied what was wanting in the feudal constitution, and have furnished princes with the means of executing enterprises to which they were then unequal. Such an establishment, however, was so repugnant to the genius of feudal policy, and so incompatible with the privileges and pretensions of the nobility, that during several centuries no monarch was either so bold or so powerful as to venture on any step towards introducing it. At last Charles VII., availing himself of the reputation which he had acquired by his success against the English, and taking advantage of the impressions of terror which such a formidable enemy had left upon the minds of his subjects, executed that which his predecessors durst not attempt. Under pretence of having always ready a force sufficient to defend the kingdom against any sudden invasion of the English, he, at that time when he disbanded his other troops, retained under arms a body of 9000 cavalry and of 16,000 infantry. He appropriated funds for the regular payment of these; he stationed them in different places of the kingdom according to his pleasure; and appointed the officers who commanded and disciplined them. The prime nobility courted this service, in which they were taught to depend on their sovereign, to



execute his orders, and to look up to him as the judge and rewarder of their merit. The feudal militia, composed of the vassals whom the nobles could call out to follow their standard, as it was in no degree comparable to a body of soldiers regularly trained to war, sunk gradually in reputation. The nobles and their military tenants, though sometimes summoned to the field according to ancient form, were considered as an encumbrance upon the troops with which they acted, and were viewed with contempt by soldiers accustomed to the vigorous and steady operations of regular service.

Thus the regulations of Charles VII. by establishing the first standing army known in Europe, occasioned an important revolution in its affairs and policy. By taking from the nobles the sole direction of the national military force, which had raised them to such high authority and importance, a deep wound was given to the feudal aristocracy in that part where its power seemed to be most complete.

France, by forming this body of regular troops at a time when there was hardly a squadron or company kept in constant pay in any other part of Europe, acquired such advantages over its neighbours, either in attack or defence, that self-preservation made it necessary for them to imitate its example. Mercenary troops were introduced into all the considerable kingdoms on the continent. They gradually became the only military force that was employed or trusted. It has long been the chief object of policy to increase and to support them. It has long been the great aim of princes and ministers to discredit and to annihilate all other means of national activity or defence.

As the kings of France got the start of other powers in establishing a military force in their dominions, which enabled them to carry on foreign operations with more vigour and to greater extent, so they were the first who effectually broke the feudal aristocracy, and humbled the great vassals of the

crown, who by their exorbitant power had long circumscribed the royal prerogative within very narrow limits, and had rendered all the efforts of the monarchs of Europe inconsiderable. Many things concurred to undermine gradually the power of the feudal aristocracy in France. The wealth and property of the nobility were greatly impaired during the long wars which the kingdom was obliged to maintain with the English. Many families of note became extinct, and their fiefs were reunited to the crown. Other fiefs in a long course of years fell to female heirs, were divided among them, were diminished by profuse donations to the church, or were broken and split by the succession of remote collateral heirs.

Encouraged by these manifest symptoms of decline in that body which he wished to depress, Charles VII., during the first interval of peace with England, made several efforts towards establishing the regal prerogative on the ruins of the aristocracy. But his obligations to the nobles were so many as well as recent, and their services in recovering the kingdom so splendid, as rendered it necessary for him to proceed with moderation and caution. Such, however, was the authority which the crown had acquired by the progress of its arms against the English, and so much was the power of the nobility diminished, that, without any opposition, he soon made innovations of great consequence in the constitution. He not only established that formidable body of regular troops which has been mentioned, but he was the first monarch of France who, by his royal edict, without the concurrence of the states-general of the kingdom, levied an extraordinary subsidy on his people. He prevailed likewise with his subjects to render several taxes perpetual which had formerly been imposed occasionally, and exacted during a short time. By means of all these innovations he acquired such an increase of power, and extended his prerogative so far beyond its ancient limits, that from being the most

dependent prince who had ever sat upon the throne of France, he came to possess, during the latter years of his reign, a degree of authority which none of his predecessors had enjoyed for several ages.

That plan of humbling the nobility which Charles began to execute, his son Louis XI. carried on with a bolder spirit and with greater success. Louis was formed by nature to be a tyrant; and at whatever period he had been called to ascend the throne, his reign must have abounded with schemes to oppress his people, and to render his own power absolute. Subtle, unfeeling, cruel; a stranger to every principle of integrity, and regardless of decency, he scorned all the restraints which a sense of honour or the desire of fame impose even upon ambitious men. Sagacious, at the same time, to discern what he deemed his true interest, and influenced by that alone, **he** was capable of pursuing it with a persevering industry, and of adhering to it with a systematic spirit, from which no object could divert and no danger could deter him.

The maxims of his administration were as profound as they were fatal to the privileges of the nobility. Persons of the highest rank among them, if so bold as to oppose his schemes, or so unfortunate as to awaken the jealousy of his capricious temper, were persecuted with rigour, from which all who belonged to the order of nobility had hitherto been exempt; they were tried by judges who had no right to take cognizance of their actions, and were subjected to torture, or condemned to an ignominious death, without regard to their birth or condition.

At the same time Louis, being afraid that oppression might rouse the nobles, whom the rigour of his government had intimidated, or that self-preservation might at last teach them to unite, dexterously scattered among them the seeds of discord, and industriously fomented those ancient animosities between the great families, which the spirit of jealousy and emulation, natural to the feudal government, had

originally kindled and still kept alive. To accomplish this, all the arts of intrigue, all the mysteries and refinements of his fraudulent policy, were employed, and with such success, that at a juncture which required the most strenuous efforts as well as the most perfect union, the nobles never acted, except during one short sally of resentment at the beginning of his reign, either with vigour or in concert.

As he stripped the nobility of their privileges, he added to the power and prerogative of the crown. In order to have at command such a body of soldiers as might be sufficient to crush any force that his disaffected subjects could draw together, he not only kept on foot the regular troops which his father had raised, but, besides augmenting their number considerably, he took into his pay 6,000 Swiss, at that time the best disciplined and most formidable infantry in Europe. From the jealousy natural to tyrants, he confided in these foreign mercenaries, as the most devoted instruments of oppression, and the most faithful guardians of the power which he had usurped. That they might be ready to act on the shortest warning, he, during the latter years of his reign, kept a considerable body of them encamped in one place.

Great funds were requisite, not only to defray the expense of this additional establishment, but to supply the sums employed in the various enterprises which the restless activity of his genius prompted him to undertake. But the prerogative that his father had assumed, of levying taxes without the concurrence of the states-general, which he was careful not only to retain but to extend, enabled him to provide in some measure for the increasing charges of government.

What his prerogative, enlarged as it was, could not furnish, his address procured. He was the first monarch in Europe who discovered the method of managing those great assemblies in which the feudal policy had vested the power of granting subsidies and of imposing taxes. He first taught other princes



the fatal art of beginning their attack on public liberty, by corrupting the source from which it should flow. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the election of representatives, by bribing or overawing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Louis acquired such entire direction of these assemblies, that from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely subservient towards promoting the most odious measures of his reign. As no power remained to set bounds to his exactions, he not only continued all the taxes imposed by his father, but he made great additions to them, which amounted to a sum that appeared astonishing to his contemporaries.\*

Nor was it the power alone or wealth of the crown that Louis increased; he extended its territories by acquisitions of various kinds. He got possession of Rousillon by purchase; Provence was conveyed to him by the will of Charles de Anjou; and upon the death of Charles the Bold, he seized, with a strong hand, Burgundy and Artois, which had belonged to that prince. Thus, during the course of a single reign, France was formed into one compact kingdom, and the steady unrelenting policy of Louis XI. not only subdued the haughty spirit of the feudal nobles, but established a species of government scarcely less absolute or less terrible than eastern despotism.

But fatal as his administration was to the liberties of his subjects, the authority which he acquired, the resources of which he became master, and his freedom from restraint in concerting his plans, as well as in executing them, rendered his reign active and enterprising.

The example which Louis set was too inviting not to be imitated by other princes. Henry VII., as

\* Charles VII. levied taxes to the amount of 1,800,000 francs; Louis XI. raised 4,700,000. The former had in pay 9000 cavalry and 16,000 infantry: the latter augmented the cavalry to 15,000 and the infantry to 25,000.

soon as he was seated on the throne of England, formed the plan of enlarging his own prerogative by breaking the power of the nobility. The circumstances under which he undertook to execute it were less favourable than those which induced Charles VII. to make the same attempt; and the spirit with which he conducted it was very different from that of Louis XI. Charles, by the success of his arms against the English, by the merit of having expelled them out of so many provinces, had established himself so firmly in the confidence of his people, as encouraged him to make bold encroachments on the ancient constitution. The daring genius of Louis broke through every barrier, and endeavoured to surmount or to remove every obstacle that stood in his way. But Henry held the sceptre by a disputed title; a popular faction was ready every moment to take arms against him; and after long civil wars, during which the nobility had often displayed their power in creating and deposing kings, he felt that the regal authority had been so much relaxed, and that he entered into possession of a prerogative so much abridged, as rendered it necessary to carry on his measures deliberately and without any violent exertion. He endeavoured to undermine that formidable structure which he durst not attack by open force. His schemes, though cautious and slow in their operation, were well concerted, and productive in the end of great effects. By his laws permitting the barons to break the entails of their estates and expose them to sale; by his regulations to prevent the nobility from keeping in their service those numerous bands of retainers which rendered them formidable and turbulent; by favouring the rising power of the commons; by encouraging population, agriculture, and commerce; by securing to his subjects, during a long reign, the enjoyment of the blessings which flow from the arts of peace; by accustoming them to an administration of government under which the laws were executed with steadiness and vigour;

he made imperceptibly considerable alterations in the English constitution, and transmitted to his successor authority so extensive, as rendered him one of the most absolute monarchs in Europe, and capable of the greatest and most vigorous efforts.

In Spain the union of all its crowns by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; the glory that they acquired by the conquest of Grenada, which brought the odious dominion of the Moors to a period; the command of the great armies which it had been necessary to keep long on foot in order to accomplish this; the wisdom and steadiness of their administration; and the address with which they availed themselves of every incident that occurred to humble the nobility and to extend their own prerogative, conspired in raising these monarchs to such eminence and authority as none of their predecessors had ever enjoyed. Though several causes, which shall be explained in another place, prevented their attaining the same powers with the kings of France and England, and preserved the feudal constitution longer entire in Spain, their great abilities supplied the defects of their prerogative, and improved, with such dexterity, all the advantages which they possessed, that Ferdinand carried on his foreign operations, which were very extensive, with extraordinary vigour and effect.

While these princes were thus enlarging the boundaries of prerogative, and taking such steps towards rendering their kingdom capable of acting with union and force, events occurred which called them forth to exert the new powers which they had acquired. These engaged them in such a series of enterprises and negotiations, that the affairs of all the considerable nations in Europe came to be insensibly interwoven with each other; and a great political system was gradually formed, which grew to be an object of universal attention.

The first event which merits notice, on account of its influence in producing this change in the state of

Europe, was the marriage of the daughter of Charles the Bold, the sole heiress of the house of Burgundy. For some years before her father's death she had been considered as the apparent successor to his territories, and Charles had made proposals of marrying her to several different princes, with a view of alluring them by that offer to favour the schemes which his restless ambition was continually forming.

This rendered the alliance with her an object of general attention; and all the advantages of acquiring possession of her territories, the most opulent at that time, and the best cultivated of any on this side of the Alps, were perfectly understood. As soon, then, as the untimely death of Charles opened the succession, the eyes of all the princes in Europe were turned towards Mary, and they felt themselves deeply interested in the choice which she was about to make of the person on whom she would bestow that rich inheritance.

Louis XI. from whose kingdom several of the provinces which she possessed had been dismembered, and whose dominions stretched along the frontier of her territories, had every inducement to court her alliance. He had, likewise, a good title to expect the favourable reception of any reasonable proposition he should make with respect to the disposal of a princess who was the vassal of his crown, and descended from the royal blood of France. There were only two propositions, however, which he could make with propriety. The one was the marriage of the dauphin, the other that of the count Angoulême, a prince of the blood with the heiress of Burgundy. By the former he would have annexed all her territories to his crown, and have rendered France at once the most respectable monarchy in Europe. But the great disparity of age between the two parties, Mary being twenty, and the dauphin only eight years old; the avowed resolution of the Flemings, not to choose a master possessed of such power as might enable him to form



schemes dangerous to their liberties; together with their dread of falling under the odious and oppressive government of Louis, were obstacles in the way of executing this plan which it was vain to think of surmounting. By the latter, the accomplishment of which might have been attained with ease, Mary having discovered some inclination to a match with the count of Angouleme, Louis would have prevented the dominions of the house of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, and in return for such a splendid establishment for the count of Angouleme, he must have obtained, or would have extorted from him, concessions highly beneficial to the crown of France. But Louis had been accustomed so long to the intricacies of a crooked and insidious policy, that he could not be satisfied with what was obvious and simple; he neglected the course which a prince less able and artful would have taken, and followed one more suited to his own genius.

He proposed to render himself, by force of arms, master of those provinces which Mary held of the crown of France, and even to push his conquests into her other territories, while he amused her with insisting continually on the impracticable match with the dauphin. In prosecuting this plan he displayed wonderful talents and industry, and exhibited such scenes of treachery, falsehood, and cruelty, as are amazing even in the history of Louis XI.

While by this conduct, unworthy of a great monarch, he supposed he was securing the possession of Burgundy, Artois, and the towns on the Somme, the states of Flanders carried on a negotiation with the emperor Frederic III., and concluded a treaty of marriage between their sovereign and his son, Maximilian, archduke of Austria. The illustrious birth of that prince, as well as the high dignity of which he had the prospect, rendered the alliance honourable for Mary, while, from the distance of his hereditary territories, and the scantiness of his

revenues, his power was so inconsiderable as did not excite the jealousy or fear of the Flemings.

Thus Louis, by the caprice of his temper and the excess of his refinements, put the house of Austria in possession of this noble inheritance. By this acquisition, the foundation of the future grandeur of Charles V. was laid; and he became master of those territories which enabled him to carry on his most formidable and decisive operations against France. Thus, too, the same monarch who first united the interior force of France, and established it on such a footing as to render it formidable to the rest of Europe, contributed, far contrary to his intention, to raise up a rival power, which, during two centuries, has thwarted the measures, opposed the arms, and checked the progress, of his successors.

The next event of consequence in the fifteenth century, was the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy. This occasioned revolutions no less memorable; produced alterations, both in the military and political system, which were more immediately perceived; roused the states of Europe to bolder efforts; and blended their affairs and interests more closely together. The mild administration of Charles, a weak but generous prince, seems to have revived the spirit and genius of the French nation, which the rigid despotism of Louis XI. his father, had depressed and almost extinguished. The ardour for military service, natural to the French nobility, returned, and their young monarch was impatient to distinguish his reign by some splendid enterprise. While he was uncertain towards what quarter he should turn his arms, the solicitations and intrigues of an Italian politician, no less infamous on account of his crimes than eminent for his abilities, determined his choice. Ludovico Sforza having formed the design of deposing his nephew the duke of Milan, and of placing himself on the ducal throne, was so much afraid of a combination of the Italian powers to oppose this measure, and to support the

injured prince, with whom most of them were connected by blood or alliance, that he saw the necessity of securing the aid of some able protector. The king of France was the person to whom he applied; and without disclosing his own intentions, he laboured to prevail with him to march into Italy, at the head of a powerful army, in order to seize the crown of Naples, to which Charles had pretensions as heir of the house of Anjou. The right to that kingdom, claimed by the Anjevin family, had been conveyed to Louis XI. by Charles of Anjou, count of Maine and Provence. But that sagacious monarch, though he took immediate possession of those territories of which Charles was really master, totally disregarded his ideal title to a kingdom over which another prince reigned in tranquillity; and uniformly declined involving himself in the labyrinth of Italian politics. His son, more adventurous or more inconsiderate, embarked eagerly in this enterprise; and contemning all the remonstrances of his most experienced counsellors, prepared to carry it on with the utmost vigour.

The power which Charles possessed was so great, that he reckoned himself equal to this arduous undertaking. His father had transmitted to him such an ample prerogative as gave him the entire command of his kingdom. He himself had added considerably to the extent of his dominions, by his prudent marriage with the heiress of Bretagne, which rendered him master of that province, the last of the great fiefs that remained to be annexed to the crown. He soon assembled forces which he thought sufficient; and so impatient was he to enter on his career as a conqueror, that sacrificing what was real for what was chimerical, he restored Rousillon to Ferdinand, and gave up part of his father's acquisitions in Artois to Maximilian, with a view of inducing these princes not to molest France while he was carrying on his operations in Italy.

But so different were the efforts of the states of

Europe in the fifteenth century from those which we shall behold in the course of this history, that the army with which Charles undertook this great enterprise did not exceed 20,000 men. The train of artillery, however, the ammunition and warlike stores of every kind provided for its use, were so considerable, as to bear some resemblance to the immense apparatus of modern war.

When the French entered Italy, they met with nothing able to resist them. The Italian powers had remained, during a long period, undisturbed by the invasion of any foreign enemy, and their bands of effeminate mercenaries, the only military force that remained in the country, being fit only for the parade of service, were terrified at the aspect of real war, and shrunk at its approach. The impetuosity of the French valour appeared to them irresistible. Florence, Pisa, and Rome, opened their gates as the French army advanced. The prospect of this dreadful invasion struck one king of Naples with such panic terror, that he died (if we may believe historians) of the fright. Another abdicated his throne from the same pusillanimous spirit. A third fled out of his dominions as soon as the enemy appeared on the Neapolitan frontiers. Charles, after marching thither from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the throne of Naples, and intimidated or gave law to every power in Italy.

Such was the conclusion of an expedition that must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise. The Italians, unable to resist the impression of the enemy, who broke in upon them, permitted him to hold on his course undisturbed. They quickly perceived that no single power which they could rouse to action was an equal match for a monarch who ruled over such



extensive territories, and was at the head of such a martial people; but that a confederacy might accomplish what the separate members of it durst not attempt. To this expedient, the only one that remained to deliver or to preserve them from the yoke, they had recourse. While Charles inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian states, supported by the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon. The union of so many powers, who suspended or forgot all their particular animosities, that they might act in concert against an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security. He saw now no prospect of safety but in returning to France. An army of 30,000 men, assembled by the allies, was ready to obstruct his march; and though the French, with a daring courage which more than countervailed their inferiority in number, broke through that great body, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a safe passage into his own territories, he was stripped of all his conquests in Italy in as short a time as it had taken to acquire them; and the political system in that country resumed the same appearance as before his invasion.

The sudden and decisive effect of this confederacy seems to have instructed the princes and statesmen of Italy as much as the irruption of the French had disconcerted and alarmed them. They had extended, on this occasion, to the affairs of Europe the maxims of that political science which had hitherto been applied only to regulate the operations of the petty states in their own country. They had discovered the method of preventing any monarch from rising to such a degree of power as was inconsistent with the general liberty, and had manifested the importance of attending to that great secret in modern policy, the preservation of a proper distribution of power among

all the members of the system into which the states of Europe are formed. Nor was the idea confined to them. Self-preservation taught other powers to adopt it. It grew to be fashionable and universal. From this era we can trace the progress of that intercourse between nations which has linked the powers of Europe so closely together, and can discern the operations of that provident policy which, during peace, guards against remote and contingent dangers, and, in war, has prevented rapid and destructive conquests.

This was not the only effect of the operations which the great powers of Europe carried on in Italy. They contributed to render general such a change as the French had begun to make in the state of their troops, and obliged all the princes who appeared on this new theatre of action to put the military force of their kingdoms on an establishment similar to that of France. When the seat of war came to be remote from the countries which maintained the contest, the service of the feudal vassals ceased to be of any use ; and the necessity of employing soldiers regularly trained to arms, and kept in constant pay, came at once to be evident.

This innovation in the military system was quickly followed by another which the custom of employing Swiss in the Italian wars was the occasion of introducing. The arms and discipline of the Swiss were different from those of other European nations. During their long and violent struggles in defence of their liberties against the house of Austria, whose armies, like those of other considerable princes, consisted chiefly of heavy-armed cavalry, the Swiss found that their poverty, and the small number of gentlemen residing in their country, at that time barren and ill cultivated, put it out of their power to bring into the field any body of horse capable of facing the enemy. Necessity compelled them to place all their confidence in infantry ; and in order to render it capable of withstanding the shock of cavalry,

they gave the soldiers breastplates and helmets as defensive armour, together with long spears, halberds, and heavy swords, as weapons of offence. They formed them into large battalions, ranged in deep and close array, so that they could present on every side a formidable front to the enemy. The men at arms could make no impression on the solid strength of such a body. It repulsed the Austrians in all their attempts to conquer Switzerland. It broke the Burgundian gendarmerie, which was scarcely inferior to that of France, either in number or reputation; and when first called to act in Italy, it bore down, by its irresistible force, every enemy that attempted to oppose it. These repeated proofs of the decisive effect of infantry, exhibited on such conspicuous occasions, restored that service to reputation, and gradually re-established the opinion, which had been long exploded, of its superior importance in the operations of war. But the glory which the Swiss had acquired having inspired them with such high ideas of their own prowess and consequence as frequently rendered them mutinous and insolent, the princes who employed them became weary of depending on the caprice of foreign mercenaries, and began to turn their attention towards the improvement of their national infantry.

The German powers having the command of men whom nature has endowed with that steady courage and persevering strength which form them to be soldiers, soon modelled their troops in such a manner that they vied with the Swiss both in discipline and valour.

The French monarchs, though more slowly and with greater difficulty, accustomed the impetuous spirit of their people to subordination and discipline; and were at such pains to render their national infantry respectable, that as early as the reign of Louis XII. several gentlemen of high rank so far abandoned their ancient ideas as to condescend to enter into that service.

The Spaniards, whose situation made it difficult to employ any other than their national troops in the southern parts of Italy, which was the chief scene of their operations in that country, not only adopted the Swiss discipline, but improved upon it, by mingling a proper number of soldiers armed with heavy muskets in their battalions; and thus formed that famous body of infantry which, during a century and a half, was the admiration and terror of all Europe. The Italian states gradually diminished the number of their cavalry, and in imitation of their more powerful neighbours, brought the strength of their armies to consist in foot soldiers. From this period the nations of Europe have carried on war with forces more adapted to every species of service, more capable of acting in every country, and better fitted both for making conquests and for preserving them.

As their efforts in Italy led the people of Europe to these improvements in the art of war, they gave them likewise the first idea of the expense with which it is accompanied when extensive or of long continuance, and accustomed every nation to the burthen of such impositions as are necessary for supporting it. While the feudal policy subsisted in full vigour, while armies were composed of military vassals, called forth to attack some neighbouring power, and to perform, in a short campaign, the services which they owed to their sovereign, the expense of war was extremely moderate. A small subsidy enabled a prince to begin and to finish his greatest military operations. But when Italy became the theatre on which the powers of Europe contended for superiority, the preparations requisite for such a distant expedition, the pay of armies kept constantly on foot, their subsistence in a foreign country, the sieges to be undertaken, and the towns to be defended, swelled the charges of war immensely, and, by creating demands unknown in less active times, multiplied taxes in every kingdom. The progress of ambition, however, was so rapid, and



princes extended their operations so fast, that it was impossible at first to establish funds proportional to the increase of expense which these occasioned. When Charles VIII. invaded Naples, the sums requisite for carrying on that enterprise so far exceeded those which France had been accustomed to contribute for the support of government, that before he reached the frontiers of Italy his treasury was exhausted, and the domestic resources of which his extensive prerogative gave him the command were at an end. As he durst not venture to lay any new imposition on his people, oppressed already with the weight of unusual burthens, the only expedient that remained was, to borrow of the Genoese as much money as might enable him to continue his march. But he could not obtain a sufficient sum without consenting to pay annually the exorbitant interest of forty-two livres for every hundred that he received. We may observe the same disproportion between the efforts and revenues of other princes his contemporaries. From this period taxes went on increasing; and during the reign of Charles V. such sums were levied in every state as would have appeared enormous at the close of the fifteenth century, and gradually prepared the way for the still more exorbitant exactions of modern times.

The last transaction previous to the reign of Charles V. that merits attention on account of its influence upon the state of Europe, is the league of Cambray. To humble the republic of Venice, and to divide its territories, was the object of all the powers who united in this confederacy. The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; during which the Senate conducted its affairs by maxims of policy no less prudent than vigorous, and adhered to these with an uniform consistent spirit, which gave that commonwealth great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed as often as the form of their government, or

the persons who administered it. By these unintermitted exertions of wisdom and valour, the Venetians enlarged the dominions of their commonwealth, until it became the most considerable power in Italy; while their extensive commerce, the useful and curious manufactures which they carried on, together with the large share which they had acquired of the lucrative commerce with the east, rendered Venice the most opulent state in Europe.

The power of the Venetians was the object of terror to their Italian neighbours. Their wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with many of their private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the richness of their dress and furniture, or in splendour and elegance of living. Julius II., whose ambition was superior and his abilities equal to those of any pontiff who ever sat on the papal throne, conceived the idea of this league against the Venetians, and endeavoured, by applying to those passions which I have mentioned, to persuade other princes to join in it. By working upon the fears of the Italian powers, and upon the avarice of several monarchs beyond the Alps, he induced them, in concurrence with other causes which it is not my province to explain, to form one of the most powerful confederacies that Europe had ever beheld, against those haughty republicans.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Aragon, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded, the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a state which they deemed to be now devoted to destruction. The Venetians might have diverted this storm, or have broken its force: but with a presumptuous rashness to which there is nothing similar in the course of their history, they waited its approach. The impetuous valour of the French rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the safety of the republic; and the fatal battle of

Ghiarraddada entirely ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Julius seized all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical territories. Ferdinand re-annexed the towns of which they had got possession on the coast of Calabria, to his Neapolitan dominions. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on the one side. The French pushed their conquests on the other. The Venetians, surrounded by so many enemies, and left without one ally, sunk from the height of presumption to the depths of despair; abandoned all their territories on the continent, and shut themselves up in their capital, as their last refuge, and the only place which they hoped to preserve.

This rapid success, however, proved fatal to the confederacy. The members of it, whose union continued while they were engaged in seizing their prey, began to feel their ancient jealousies and animosities revive as soon as they had a prospect of dividing it. When the Venetians observed these symptoms of distrust and alienation, a ray of hope broke in upon them; the spirit natural to their councils returned; they resumed such wisdom and firmness as made some atonement for their former imprudence and dejection; they recovered part of the territory which they had lost; they appeased the pope and Ferdinand by well-timed concessions in their favour; and at length dissolved the confederacy, which had brought their commonwealth to the brink of ruin.

Julius, elated with beholding the effects of a league which he himself had planned, and imagining that nothing was too arduous for him to undertake, conceived the idea of expelling every foreign power out of Italy, and bent all the force of his mind towards executing a scheme so well suited to his enterprising genius. He directed his first attack against the French, who, on many accounts, were more odious to the Italians than any of the foreigners who had acquired dominion in their country. By his activity and address, he prevailed on most of the

powers who had joined in the league of Cambray to turn their arms against the king of France, their former ally; and engaged Henry VIII., who had lately ascended the throne of England, to favour their operations, by invading France. Louis XII. resisted all the efforts of this formidable and unexpected confederacy with undaunted fortitude. Hostilities were carried on, during several campaigns, in Italy, on the frontiers of Spain, and Picardy, with alternate success. Exhausted, at length, by the variety as well as extent of his operations; unable to withstand a confederacy which brought against him superior force, conducted with wisdom and acting with perseverance, Louis found it necessary to conclude separate treaties of peace with his enemies; and the war terminated with the loss of every thing which the French had acquired in Italy, except the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable towns in that duchy.

The various negotiations carried on during this busy period, and the different combinations formed among powers hitherto little connected with each other, greatly increased that intercourse among the nations of Europe, which I have mentioned as one effect of the events in the fifteenth century; while the greatness of the objects at which different nations aimed, the distant expeditions which they undertook, as well as the length and obstinacy of the contest in which they engaged, obliged them to exert themselves with a vigour and perseverance unknown in the preceding ages.

Those active scenes which the following history will exhibit, as well as the variety and importance of those transactions which distinguish the period to which it extends, are not to be ascribed solely to the ambition, to the abilities, or to the rivalry, of Charles V. and of Francis I. The kingdoms of Europe had arrived at such a degree of improvement in the internal administration of government, and princes had acquired such command of the national force



which was to be exerted in foreign wars, that they were in a condition to enlarge the sphere of their operations, to multiply their claims and pretensions, and to increase the vigour of their efforts. Accordingly, the sixteenth century opened with the certain prospect of its abounding in great and interesting events.

### SECTION III.

View of the political constitution of the principal States in Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth Century.

HAVING thus enumerated the principal causes and events, the influence of which was felt in every part of Europe, and contributed either to improve internal order and police in its various states, or to enlarge the sphere of their activity, by giving them more entire command of the force with which foreign operations are carried on, nothing farther seems requisite for preparing my readers to enter, with full information, upon perusing the history of Charles V., but to give a view of the political constitution and form of civil government in each of the nations which acted any considerable part during that period. For as the institutions and events which I have endeavoured to illustrate, formed the people of Europe to resemble each other, and conducted them from barbarism to refinement, in the same path and by nearly equal steps, there were other circumstances which occasioned a difference in their political establishments, and gave rise to those peculiar modes of government, which have produced such variety in the character and genius of nations.

A minute detail, however, of the peculiar forms and regulations in every country, would lead to deductions of immeasurable length. To sketch out the great lines which distinguish and characterize each government, is all that the nature of my present work will admit of, and all that is necessary to illustrate the events which it records.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the po-

litical aspect of Italy was extremely different from that of any other part of Europe. Instead of those extensive monarchies which occupied the rest of the continent, that delightful country was parcelled out among many small states, each of which possessed sovereign and independent jurisdiction. The only monarchy in Italy was that of Naples. The dominion of the popes was of a peculiar species, to which there is nothing similar either in ancient or modern times. In Venice, Florence, and Genoa, a republican form of government was established. Milan was subject to sovereigns who had assumed no higher title than that of dukes.

The pope was the first of these powers in dignity, and not the least considerable by the extent of his territories. In the primitive church, the jurisdiction of bishops was equal and co-ordinate. They derived, perhaps, some degree of consideration from the dignity of the see in which they presided. They possessed, however, no real authority or pre-eminence but what they acquired by superior abilities or superior sanctity. As Rome had so long been the seat of empire, and the capital of the world, its bishops were on that account entitled to respect; they received it; but, during several ages, they received and even claimed nothing more. From these humble beginnings they advanced with such adventurous and well-directed ambition, that they established a spiritual dominion over the minds and sentiments of men, to which all Europe submitted with implicit obedience. Their claim of universal jurisdiction, as heads of the church, and their pretensions to infallibility in their decisions, as successors of St. Peter, are as chimerical as they are repugnant to the genius of the Christian religion. But on these foundations the superstition and credulity of mankind enabled them to erect an amazing superstructure. In all ecclesiastical controversies their decisions were received as the infallible oracles of truth. Nor was the plenitude of their power confined solely to what was spiritual; they dethroned

monarchs ; disposed of crowns ; absolved subjects from the obedience due to their sovereigns ; and laid kingdoms under interdicts. There was not a state in Europe which had not been disquieted by their ambition : there was not a throne which they had not shaken ; nor a prince who did not tremble at their power.

Nothing was wanting to render this empire absolute, and to establish it on the ruins of all civil authority, but that the popes should have possessed such a degree of temporal power as was sufficient to second and enforce their spiritual decrees. Happily for mankind, at the time when their spiritual jurisdiction was most extensive and most revered, their secular dominion was extremely limited. They were powerful pontiffs, formidable at a distance, but they were petty princes, without any considerable domestic force. They had early endeavoured, indeed, to acquire territory by arts similar to those which they had employed in extending their spiritual jurisdiction. Under pretence of a donation from Constantine, and of another from Charlemagne or his father Pepin, they attempted to take possession of some towns adjacent to Rome. But these donations were fictitious, and availed them little. The benefactions for which they were indebted to the credulity of the Norman adventurers who conquered Naples, and to the superstition of the countess Matilda, were real, and added ample domains to the holy see.

But the power of the popes did not increase in proportion to the extent of territory which they had acquired. In the dominions annexed to the holy see, as well as in those subject to other princes in Italy, the sovereign of a state was far from having the command of the force which it contained. During the turbulence and confusion of the middle ages, the powerful nobility or leaders of popular factions in Italy had seized the government of different towns ; and, after strengthening their fortifications, and

taking a body of mercenaries into pay, they aspired at independence. The territory which the church had gained was filled with petty lords of this kind, who left the pope hardly the shadow of domestic authority.

As these usurpations almost annihilated the papal power in the greater part of the towns subject to the church, the Roman barons frequently disputed the authority of the popes, even in Rome itself. In the twelfth century an opinion began to be propagated, 'That as the function of ecclesiastics was purely spiritual, they ought to possess no property, and to claim no temporal jurisdiction; but, according to the laudable example of their predecessors in the primitive church, should subsist wholly upon their tithes, or upon the voluntary oblations of the people.' This doctrine being addressed to men who had beheld the scandalous manner in which the avarice and ambition of the clergy had prompted them to contend for wealth, and to exercise power, they listened to it with fond attention. The Roman barons, who had felt most sensibly the rigour of ecclesiastical oppression, adopted these sentiments with such ardour, that they set themselves instantly to shake off the yoke. The popes exerted themselves with vigour in order to check this dangerous encroachment on their jurisdiction. One of them finding all his endeavours ineffectual, was so much mortified, that extreme grief cut short his days. Another having ventured to attack the senators at the head of some armed men, was mortally wounded in the fray. During a considerable period, the power of the popes, before which the greatest monarchs in Europe trembled, was circumscribed within such narrow limits in their own capital, that they durst hardly exert any act of authority without the permission and concurrence of the senate.

Encroachments were made upon the papal sovereignty, not only by the usurpations of the Roman nobility, but by the mutinous spirit of the people



During seventy years of the fourteenth century, the popes fixed their residence in Avignon. The inhabitants of Rome, accustomed to consider themselves as the descendants of the people who had conquered the world and had given laws to it, were too high-spirited to submit with patience to the delegated authority of those persons to whom the popes committed the government of the city. On many occasions they opposed the execution of the papal mandates, and on the slightest appearance of innovation or oppression, they were ready to take arms in defence of their own immunities.

Many attempts were made by the popes, not only to humble those usurpers who lorded it over the cities in the ecclesiastical state, but to break the turbulent spirit of the Roman people. These were long unsuccessful. But at last Alexander VI., with a policy no less artful than flagitious, subdued or extirpated most of the great Roman barons, and rendered the popes masters of their own dominions. The enterprising ambition of Julius II. added conquests of no inconsiderable value to the patrimony of St. Peter. Thus the popes by degrees became powerful temporal princes. Their territories in the age of Charles V. were of greater extent than at present; their country seems to have been better cultivated, as well as more populous; and as they drew large contributions from every part of Europe, their revenues far exceeded those of the neighbouring powers, and rendered them capable of more sudden and vigorous efforts.

The genius of the papal government, however, was better adapted to the exercise of spiritual dominion than of temporal power. With respect to the former, all its maxims were steady and invariable. Every new pontiff adopted the plan of his predecessor. By education and habit, ecclesiastics were so formed that the character of the individual was sunk in that of the profession, and the passions of the man were sacrificed to the interest and honour

of the order. The hands which held the reins of administration might change, but the spirit which conducted them was always the same. While the measures of other governments fluctuated, and the objects at which they aimed varied, the church kept one end in view; and to this unrelaxing constancy of pursuit it was indebted for its success in the boldest attempts ever made by human ambition.

But in their civil administration the popes followed no such uniform or consistent plan. There, as in other governments, the character, the passions, and the interest, of the person who had the supreme direction of affairs, occasioned a variation both in objects and measures. As few prelates reached the summit of ecclesiastical dignity until they were far advanced in life, a change of masters was more frequent in the papal dominions than in other states, and the political system was, of course, less stable and permanent. Every pope was eager to make the most of the short period during which he had the prospect of enjoying power, in order to aggrandize his own family, and to attain his private ends; and it was often the first business of his successor to undo all that he had done, and to overturn what he had established.

As ecclesiastics were trained to pacific arts, and early initiated in the mysteries of that policy by which the court of Rome extended or supported its spiritual dominion, the popes in the conduct of their temporal affairs were apt to follow the same maxims, and in all their measures were more ready to employ the refinements of intrigue than the force of arms. It was in the papal court that address and subtilty in negotiation became a science; and during the sixteenth century, Rome was considered as the school in which it might be best acquired.

As the decorum of their ecclesiastical character prevented the popes from placing themselves at the head of their armies, or from taking the command, in person, of the military force in their dominions,

they were afraid to arm their subjects: and in all their operations, whether offensive or defensive, they trusted entirely to mercenary troops.

As their power and dominions could not descend to their posterity, the popes were less solicitous than other princes to form or to encourage schemes of public utility and improvement. Their tenure was only for a short life; present advantage was what they chiefly studied; to squeeze and to amass, rather than to ameliorate, was their object. They erected, perhaps, some work of ostentation to remain as a monument of their pontificate; they found it necessary at some times to establish useful institutions in order to soothe and silence the turbulent populace of Rome; but plans of general benefit to their subjects, framed with a view to futurity, were rarely objects of attention in the papal policy. The patrimony of St. Peter was worse governed than any part of Europe; and though a generous pontiff might suspend for a little, or counteract, the effects of those vices which are peculiar to the administration of ecclesiastics, the disease not only remained without remedy, but has gone on increasing from age to age; and the decline of the state has kept pace with its progress.

One circumstance farther concerning the papal government is so singular as to merit attention. As the spiritual supremacy and temporal power were united in one person, and uniformly aided each other in their operations, they became so blended together that it was difficult to separate them even in imagination. The potentates who found it necessary to oppose the measures which the popes pursued as temporal princes, could not easily divest themselves of the reverence which they imagined to be due to them as heads of the church, and vicars of Jesus Christ. It was with reluctance that they could be brought to a rupture with the head of the church; they were unwilling to push their operations against him to extremity; they listened eagerly to the first

overtures of accommodation, and were anxious to procure it almost upon any terms. But when popes came to take part more frequently in the contests among princes, and to engage as principals or auxiliaries in every war kindled in Europe, this veneration for their sacred character began to abate; and striking instances will occur in the following history of its being almost totally extinct.

Of all the Italian powers, the republic of Venice, next to the papal see, was most connected with the rest of Europe. The rise of that commonwealth during the inroads of the Huns in the fifth century; the singular situation of its capital in the small isles of the Adriatic gulf; and the more singular form of its civil constitution, are generally known. If we view the Venetian government as calculated for the order of nobles alone, its institutions may be pronounced excellent. But if we consider it as formed for a numerous body of people subject to its jurisdiction, it will appear a rigid and partial aristocracy, which lodges all power in the hands of a few members of the community, while it degrades and oppresses the rest.

The spirit of government in a commonwealth of this species was, of course, timid and jealous. The Venetian nobles distrusted their own subjects, and were afraid of allowing them the use of arms. The military force of the republic consisted entirely of foreign mercenaries. The command of these was never trusted to noble Venetians, lest they should acquire such influence over the army as might endanger the public liberty. A soldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *Condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, made a trade of war, and raised and hired out soldiers to different states. But the same suspicious policy which induced the Venetians to employ these adventurers, prevented their placing entire confidence in



them. Two noblemen appointed by the senate accompanied their army when it took the field, with the appellation of *Proveditori*, and, like the field-deputies of the Dutch republic in latter times, observed all the motions of the general, and checked and controlled him in all his operations. A commonwealth with such civil and military institutions was not formed to make conquests. When the Venetians so far forgot the interior defects in their government as to aim at extensive conquests, the fatal blow which they received in the war excited by the league of Cambray, convinced them of the imprudence and danger of making violent efforts in opposition to the genius and tendency of their constitution.

It is not, however, by its military, but by its naval and commercial power, that the importance of the Venetian commonwealth must be estimated. The latter constituted the real force and nerves of the state. The jealousy of government did not extend to this department. Nothing was apprehended from this quarter that could prove formidable to liberty. The senate encouraged the nobles to trade, and to serve on board the fleet. They became merchants and admirals: they increased the wealth of their country by their industry; they added to its dominions by the valour with which they conducted its naval armaments.

The constitution of Florence was perfectly the reverse of the Venetian. It partook as much of democratical turbulence and licentiousness, as the other of aristocratical rigour. Florence, however, was a commercial, not a military, democracy. The nature of its institutions was favourable to commerce, and the genius of the people was turned towards it. The vast wealth which the family of Medici had acquired by trade, together with the magnificence, the generosity, and the virtue, of the first Cosmo, gave him such an ascendant over the affections as well as the councils of his countrymen, that, though the forms

of popular government were preserved, though the various departments of administration were filled by magistrates distinguished by the ancient names, and elected in the usual manner, he was in reality the head of the commonwealth; and, in the station of a private citizen, he possessed supreme authority. Cosmo transmitted a considerable degree of this power to his descendants; and during the greater part of the fifteenth century, the political state of Florence was extremely singular. The appearance of republican government subsisted, the people were passionately attached to it, and on some occasions contended warmly for their privileges, and yet they permitted a single family to assume the direction of their affairs, almost as absolutely as if it had been formally invested with sovereign power. The jealousy of the Medici concurred with the commercial spirit of the Florentines, in putting the military force of the republic upon the same footing with that of the other Italian states. The troops which the Florentines employed in their wars consisted almost entirely of mercenary soldiers, furnished by the *Condottieri*, or leaders of bands, whom they took into their pay.

In the kingdom of Naples, to which the sovereignty of the island of Sicily was annexed, the feudal government was established in the same form, and with the same defects, as in the other nations of Europe. The frequent and violent revolutions which happened in that monarchy had considerably increased these defects, and rendered them more intolerable. From which causes the kingdom of Naples was the most turbulent of any in Europe, and the authority of its monarchs the least extensive. Though Ferdinand I., who began his reign in the year 1468, attempted to break the power of the aristocracy; though his son Alphonso, that he might crush it at once by cutting off the leaders of greatest reputation and influence among the Neapo-

litan barons, ventured to commit one of the most perfidious and cruel actions recorded in history; the order of nobles was nevertheless more exasperated than humbled by their measures. The resentment which these outrages excited was so violent, and the power of the malcontent nobles was still so formidable, that to these may be ascribed, in a great degree, the ease and rapidity with which Charles VIII. conquered the kingdom of Naples.

The event that gave rise to the violent contests concerning the succession to the crown of Naples and Sicily, which brought so many calamities upon these kingdoms, happened in the thirteenth century. Upon the death of the emperor Frederic II., Manfred, his natural son, aspiring to the Neapolitan throne, murdered his brother the emperor Conrad (if we may believe contemporary historians), and by that crime obtained possession of it. The popes, from their implacable enmity to the house of Suabia, not only refused to recognise Manfred's title, but endeavoured to excite against him some rival capable of wresting the sceptre out of his hand. Charles, count of Anjou, the brother of St. Louis, king of France, undertook this; and he received from the popes the investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily as a fief held of the holy see. The count of Anjou's efforts were crowned with success; Manfred fell in battle; and he took possession of the vacant throne. But soon after, Charles sullied the glory which he had acquired, by the injustice and cruelty with which he put to death, by the hands of the executioner, Conradin, the last prince of the house of Suabia, and the rightful heir of the Neapolitan crown. That gallant young prince asserted his title, to the last, with a courage worthy of a better fate. On the scaffold he declared Peter, at that time prince, and soon after king of Aragon, who had married Manfred's only daughter, his heir; and throwing his glove among the people, he entreated that it might be carried to Peter, as the symbol by

which he conveyed all his rights to him. The desire of avenging the insult offered to royalty by the death of Conradin, concurred with his own ambition in prompting Peter to take arms in support of the title which he had acquired. From that period, during almost two centuries, the houses of Aragon and Anjou contended for the crown of Naples. Amidst a succession of revolutions more rapid, as well as of crimes more atrocious, than what occur in the history of almost any other kingdom, monarchs, sometimes of the Aragonese line, and sometimes of the Anjevin, were seated on the throne. At length the princes of the house of Aragon obtained such firm possession of this long-disputed inheritance, that they transmitted it quietly to a bastard branch of their family.

The race of the Anjevin kings, however, was not extinct; nor had they relinquished their title to the Neapolitan crown. The count of Maine and Provence, the heir of this family, conveyed all his rights and pretensions to Louis XI. and to his successors. Charles VIII., as I have already related, crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army, in order to prosecute his claim with a degree of vigour far superior to that which the princes from whom he derived it had been capable of exerting. The rapid progress of his arms in Italy, as well as the short time during which he enjoyed the fruits of his success, have already been mentioned and are well known. Frederic, the heir of the illegitimate branch of the Aragonese family, soon recovered the throne of which Charles had dispossessed him. Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Aragon united against this prince, whom both, though for different reasons, considered as an usurper, and agreed to divide his dominions between them. Frederic, unable to resist the combined monarchs, each of whom was far superior in power, resigned his sceptre. Louis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it; and from allies be-



came enemies. But Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of such military talents as gave him a just title to the appellation of the *great captain*, which the Spanish historians have bestowed upon him; and partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements as leave an indelible stain on his memory, stripped the French of all that they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the peaceable possession of them to his master. These, together with his other kingdoms, Ferdinand transmitted to his grandson Charles V., whose right to possess them, if not altogether uncontrovertible, seems at least to be as well founded as that which the kings of France set up in opposition to it.

There is nothing in the political constitution or interior government of the duchy of Milan so remarkable as to require a particular explanation. But as the right of succession to that fertile province was the cause or the pretext of almost all the wars carried on in Italy, during the reign of Charles V., it is necessary to trace these disputes to their source, and to inquire into the pretensions of the various competitors.

During the long and fierce contests excited in Italy by the violence of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, the family of Visconti rose to great eminence among their fellow-citizens of Milan. As the Visconti had adhered uniformly to the Ghibelline or imperial interest, they, by way of recompense, received, from one emperor, the dignity of perpetual vicars of the empire in Italy: they were created, by another, dukes of Milan; and, together with that title, the possession of the city and its territories was bestowed upon them as an hereditary fief. John, king of France, among other expedients for raising money which the calamities of his reign obliged him to employ, condescended to give one of his daughters in marriage to John Galeazzo Visconti, the first duke of Milan, from whom he had received considerable

sums. Valentine Visconti, one of the children of this marriage, married her cousin, Louis, duke of Orleans, the only brother of Charles VI. In their marriage-contract, which the pope confirmed, it was stipulated that, upon failure of heirs-male in the family of Visconti, the duchy of Milan should descend to the posterity of Valentine and the duke of Orleans. That event took place. In the year 1447, Philip Maria, the last prince of the ducal family of Visconti, died. Various competitors claimed the succession. Charles, duke of Orleans, pleaded his right to it, founded on the marriage-contract of his father with Valentine Visconti. Alphonso, king of Naples, claimed it in consequence of a will made by Philip Maria in his favour. The emperor contended, that upon the extinction of male issue in the family of Visconti, the fief returned to the superior lord, and ought to be re-annexed to the empire. The people of Milan, smitten with the love of liberty which in that age prevailed among the Italian states, declared against the dominion of any master, and established a republican form of government.

But during the struggle among so many competitors, the prize for which they contended was seized by one from whom none of them apprehended any danger. Francis Sforza, the natural son of Jacomuzzo Sforza, whom his courage and abilities had elevated from the rank of a peasant to be one of the most eminent and powerful of the Italian *Condottieri*, having succeeded his father in the command of the adventurers who followed his standard, had married a natural daughter of the last duke of Milan. Upon this shadow of a title Francis founded his pretensions to the duchy, which he supported with such talents and valour as placed him at last on the ducal throne. The virtues as well as abilities with which he governed inducing his subjects to forget the defects in his title, he transmitted his dominions quietly to his son; from whom they descended to his grandson. He was murdered by his grand-uncle Ludovico, sur-

named the Moor, who took possession of the duchy ; and his right to it was confirmed by the investiture of the emperor Maximilian in the year 1494.

Louis XI., who took pleasure in depressing the princes of the blood, and who admired the political abilities of Francis Sforza, would not permit the duke of Orleans to take any step in prosecution of his right to the duchy of Milan. Ludovico the Moor kept up such a close connexion with Charles VIII. that, during the greater part of his reign, the claim of the family of Orleans continued to lie dormant. But when the crown of France devolved on Louis XII. duke of Orleans, he instantly asserted the rights of his family with the ardour which it was natural to expect, and marched at the head of a powerful army to support them. Ludovico Sforza, incapable of contending with such a rival, was stripped of all his dominions in the space of a few days. The king, clad in the ducal robes, entered Milan in triumph ; and soon after, Ludovico, having been betrayed by the Swiss in his pay, was sent a prisoner into France, and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days. In consequence of one of the singular revolutions which occur so frequently in the history of the Milanese, his son Maximilian Sforza was placed on the ducal throne, of which he kept possession during the reign of Louis XII. But his successor Francis I. was too high-spirited and enterprising tamely to relinquish his title. As soon as he was seated upon the throne, he prepared to invade the Milanese ; and his right of succession to it appears, from this detail, to have been more natural and more just than that of any other competitor.

It is unnecessary to enter into any detail with respect to the form of government in Genoa, Parma, Modena, and the other inferior states of Italy. Their names, indeed, will often occur in the following history. But the power of these states themselves was so inconsiderable, that their fate depended little

upon their own efforts; and the frequent revolutions which they underwent were brought about rather by the operations of the princes who attacked or defended them, than by any thing peculiar in their internal constitution.

Of the great kingdoms on this side of the Alps, Spain is one of the most considerable; and as it was the hereditary domain of Charles V., as well as the chief source of his power and wealth, a distinct knowledge of its political constitution is of capital importance towards understanding the transactions of his reign.

The Vandals and Goths, who overturned the Roman power in Spain, established a form of government in that country, and introduced customs and laws perfectly similar to those which were established in the rest of Europe by the other victorious tribes which acquired settlements there. For some time society advanced among the new inhabitants of Spain by the same steps, and seemed to hold the same course, as in other European nations. To this progress a sudden stop was put by the invasion of the Saracens or Moors from Africa. The Goths could not withstand the efforts of their enthusiastic valour, which subdued the greatest part of Spain with the same impetuous rapidity that distinguishes all the operations of their arms. The conquerors introduced into the country in which they settled the Mahometan religion, the Arabic language, the manners of the east, together with that taste for the arts, and that love of elegance and splendour, which the Califs had begun to cultivate among their subjects.

Such Gothic nobles as disdained to submit to the Moorish yoke fled for refuge to the inaccessible mountains of Asturias. There they comforted themselves with enjoying the exercise of the Christian religion, and with maintaining the authority of their ancient laws. By degrees their strength increased, their views enlarged, a regular government was esta-



blished among them, and they began to aim at extending their territories. While they pushed on their attacks with the unremitting ardour excited by zeal for religion, by the desire of vengeance, and by the hope of rescuing their country from oppression; while they conducted their operations with the courage natural to men who had no other occupation but war, and who were strangers to all the arts which corrupt or enfeeble the mind; the Moors gradually lost many of the advantages to which they had been indebted for their first success. They threw off all dependence on the Califs; they neglected to preserve a close connexion with their countrymen in Africa; their empire in Spain was split into many small kingdoms; the arts which they cultivated, together with the luxury to which these gave rise, relaxed in some measure the force of their military institutions, and abated the vigour of their warlike spirit. The Moors, however, continued still to be a gallant people, and possessed great resources. According to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the Christian arms.

As the Christians made their conquests upon the Mahometans at various periods and under different leaders, each formed the territory which he had wrested from the common enemy into an independent state. Spain was divided into almost as many separate kingdoms as it contained provinces; in each city of note a petty monarch established his throne, and assumed all the ensigns of royalty. In a series of years, however, by the usual events of intermarriages, or succession, or conquest, all these inferior principalities were annexed to the more powerful kingdoms of Castile and of Aragon. At length, by the fortunate marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the former the hereditary monarch of Aragon, and the latter raised to the throne of Castile by the affection

of her subjects, all the Spanish crowns were united, and descended in the same line.

From this period the political constitution of Spain began to assume a regular and uniform appearance; the genius of its government may be delineated, and the progress of its laws and manners may be traced, with certainty. Notwithstanding the singular revolution which the invasion of the Moors occasioned in Spain, and the peculiarity of its fate in being so long subject to the Mahometan yoke, the customs introduced by the Vandals and Goths had taken such deep root, and were so thoroughly incorporated with the frame of its government, that in every province which the Christians recovered from the Moors, we find the condition of individuals, as well as the political constitution, nearly the same as in other nations of Europe. Lands were held by the same tenure; justice was dispensed in the same form; the same privileges were claimed by the nobility; and the same power exercised by the cortes, or general assembly of the kingdom.

But though the feudal form of government, with all the institutions which characterize it, was thus preserved entire in Castile and Aragon, as well as in all the kingdoms which depended on these crowns, there were certain peculiarities in their political constitutions which distinguish them from those of any other country in Europe. The royal prerogative, extremely limited in every feudal kingdom, was circumscribed, in Spain, within such narrow bounds as reduced the power of the sovereign almost to nothing. The privileges of the nobility were great in proportion, and extended so far as to border on absolute independence. The immunities of the cities were likewise greater than in other feudal kingdoms; they possessed considerable influence in the cortes, and they aspired at obtaining more. Such a state of society, in which the political machine was so ill-adjusted, and the several members of the legislature so improperly balanced, produced internal disorders

in the kingdoms of Spain, which rose beyond the pitch of turbulence and anarchy usual under the feudal government.

In the principality of Catalonia, which was annexed to the kingdom of Aragon, the impatience of the people to obtain the redress of their grievances having prompted them to take arms against their sovereign John II., they, by a solemn deed, recalled the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to him, declared him and his posterity to be unworthy of the throne, and endeavoured to establish a republican form of government, in order to secure the perpetual enjoyment of that liberty after which they aspired. Nearly about the same period, the indignation of the Castilian nobility against the weak and flagitious administration of Henry IV. having led them to combine against him, they arrogated, as one of the privileges belonging to their order, the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign. That the exercise of this power might be as public and solemn as the pretension to it was bold, they summoned all the nobility of their party to meet at Avila; a spacious theatre was erected in a plain without the walls of the town; an image representing the king was seated on a throne clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against the king was read, and the sentence of deposition was pronounced, in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the close of the second, the Conde de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the Conde de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; at the close of the last, Don Diego Lopes de Stungia tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the same instant, Don Alfonso, Henry's brother, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon in his stead.

The most daring leaders of faction would not have ventured on these measures, nor have conducted them with such public ceremony, if the sentiments of the people concerning the royal dignity had not been so formed by the laws and policy to which they were accustomed both in Castile and Catalonia, as prepared them to approve of such extraordinary proceedings, or acquiesce in them.

In Aragon the form of government was monarchical, but the genius and maxims of it were purely republican. The kings, who were long elective, retained only the shadow of power; the real exercise of it was in the cortes or parliament of the kingdom. This supreme assembly was composed of four different *arms* or members. The nobility of the first rank. The equestrian order, or nobility of the second class. The representatives of the cities and towns, whose right to a place in the cortes, if we may give credit to the historians of Aragon, was coeval with the constitution. The ecclesiastical order, composed of the dignitaries of the church, together with the representatives of the inferior clergy. No law could pass in this assembly without the assent of every single member who had a right to vote. Without the permission of the cortes, no tax could be imposed; no war could be declared; no peace could be concluded; no money could be coined; nor could any alteration be made in the current specie. This sovereign court was held, during several centuries, every year; but, in consequence of a regulation introduced about the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was convoked from that period only once in two years. After it was assembled, the king had no right to prorogue or dissolve it without its own consent; and the session continued forty days.

Not satisfied with having erected such formidable barriers against the encroachments of the royal prerogative, nor willing to commit the sole guardianship of their liberties entirely to the vigilance and



authority of an assembly similar to the diets, states-general, and parliaments, in which the other feudal nations have placed so much confidence, the Aragonese had recourse to an institution peculiar to themselves, and elected a *Justiza*, or supreme judge. This magistrate, whose office bore some resemblance to that of the Ephori in ancient Sparta, acted as the protector of the people and the comptroller of the prince. The person of the *Justiza* was sacred, his power and jurisdiction almost unbounded. He was the supreme interpreter of the laws. Not only inferior judges, but the kings themselves, were bound to consult him in every doubtful case, and to receive his responses with implicit deference. An appeal lay to him from the royal judges, as well as from those appointed by the barons within their respective territories. Even when no appeal was made to him, he could interpose by his own authority, prohibit the ordinary judge to proceed, take immediate cognizance of the cause himself, and remove the party accused to the *Manifestation*, or prison of the state, to which no person had access but by his permission. His power was exerted with no less vigour and effect in superintending the administration of government, than in regulating the courts of justice. It was the prerogative of the *Justiza* to inspect the conduct of the king. He had a title to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether or not they were agreeable to law, and ought to be carried into execution. He, by his sole authority, could exclude any of the king's ministers from the conduct of affairs, and call them to answer for their mal-administration. He himself was accountable to the cortes only for the manner in which he discharged the duties of this high office; and performed functions of the greatest importance that could be committed to a subject.

It is evident from a bare enumeration of the privileges of the Aragonese cortes, as well as the rights belonging to the *Justiza* that a very small portion

of power remained in the hands of the king. The Aragonese seem to have been solicitous that their monarchs should know and feel this state of impotence to which they were reduced. Even in swearing allegiance to their sovereign, an act which ought naturally to be accompanied with professions of submission and respect, they devised an oath, in such a form as to remind him of his dependence on his subjects. 'We,' said the Justiza to the king, in name of his high-spirited barons, 'who are each of us as good, and who are altogether more powerful, than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights and liberties; but if not, not.' Conformably to this oath, they established it as a fundamental article in their constitution, that if the king should violate their rights and privileges, it was lawful for the people to disclaim him as their sovereign, and to elect another, even though a heathen, in his place.

In Castile there were not such peculiarities in the form of government as to establish any remarkable distinction between it and that of the other European nations. The executive part of government was committed to the king, but with a prerogative extremely limited. The legislative authority resided in the cortes, which was composed of the nobility, the dignified ecclesiastics, and the representatives of the cities. The assembly of the cortes in Castile was very ancient, and seems to have been almost coeval with the constitution. The members of the three different orders, who had a right of suffrage, met in one place, and deliberated as one collective body, the decisions of which were regulated by the sentiments of the majority. The right of imposing taxes, of enacting laws, and of redressing grievances, belonged to this assembly; and in order to secure the assent of the king to such statutes and regulations as were deemed salutary or beneficial to the kingdom, it was usual in the cortes to take no step towards granting money until all business relative to

the public welfare was concluded. The representatives of cities seem to have obtained a seat very early in the cortes of Castile, and soon acquired such influence and credit as were very uncommon at a period when the splendour and pre-eminence of the nobility had eclipsed or depressed all other orders of men. The number of members from cities bore such a proportion to that of the whole collective body, as rendered them extremely respectable in the cortes. The degree of consideration which they possessed in the state may be estimated by one event. Upon the death of John I., a council of regency was appointed to govern the kingdom during the minority of his son. It was composed of an equal number of noblemen and of deputies chosen by the cities; the latter were admitted to the same rank and invested with the same powers as prelates and grandes of the first order. But though the members of communities in Castile were elevated above the condition wherein they were placed in other kingdoms of Europe; though they had attained to such political importance, that even the proud and jealous spirit of the feudal aristocracy could not exclude them from a considerable share in government; yet the nobles, notwithstanding these acquisitions of the commons, continued to assert the privileges of their order in opposition to the crown, in a tone extremely high. There was not any body of nobility in Europe more distinguished for independence of spirit, haughtiness of deportment, and bold pretensions, than that of Castile. The history of that monarchy affords the most striking examples of the vigilance with which they observed, and of the vigour with which they opposed, every measure of their kings that tended to encroach on their jurisdiction, to diminish their dignity, or to abridge their power. Even in their ordinary intercourse with their monarchs, they preserved such a consciousness of their rank, that the nobles of the first order claimed it as a privilege to be covered in the royal presence, and

approached their sovereigns rather as equals than as subjects.

The constitutions of the subordinate monarchies which depended on the crowns of Castile and Aragon, nearly resembled those of the kingdoms to which they were annexed. In all of them the dignity and independence of the nobles were great, the immunities and power of the cities were considerable.

An attentive observation of the singular situation of Spain, as well as the various events which occurred there, from the invasion of the Moors to the union of its kingdoms under Ferdinand and Isabella, will discover the causes to which all the peculiarities in its political constitution I have pointed out ought to be ascribed.

As the provinces of Spain were wrested from the Mahometans gradually and with difficulty, the nobles who followed the standard of any eminent leader in these wars, conquered not for him alone, but for themselves. They claimed a share in the lands which their valour had won from the enemy, and their prosperity and power increased in proportion as the territory of the prince extended.

During their perpetual wars with the Moors, the monarchs of the several kingdoms in Spain depended so much on their nobles, that it became necessary to conciliate their good-will by successive grants of new honour and privileges. By the time that any prince could establish his dominion in a conquered province, the greater part of the territory was parcelled out by him among his barons, with such jurisdiction and immunities as raised them almost to sovereign power.

At the same time the kingdoms erected in so many different corners of Spain were of inconsiderable extent. The petty monarch was but little elevated above his nobles. They feeling themselves to be almost his equals, acted as such; and could not look up to the kings of such limited domains



with the same reverence that the sovereigns of the great monarchies in Europe were viewed by their subjects.

While these circumstances concurred in exalting the nobility, and in depressing the royal authority, there were other causes which raised the cities in Spain to consideration and power. As the open country, during the wars with the Moors, was perpetually exposed to the excursions of the enemy, with whom no peace or truce was so permanent as to prove any lasting security, self-preservation obliged persons of all ranks to fix their residence in places of strength. Cities, in which great numbers united for their mutual defence, were the only places in which people could reside with any prospect of safety. To this was owing the rapid growth of those cities in Spain of which the Christians recovered possession. All who fled from the Moorish yoke resorted to them as to an asylum; and in them the greater part of those who took the field against the Mahometans established their families. Several of these cities, during a longer or shorter course of years, were the capitals of little states, and enjoyed all the advantages which accelerate the increase of inhabitants in every place that is the seat of government.

As it was impossible to carry on a continual war against the Moors, without some other military force than that which the barons were obliged to bring into the field in consequence of the feudal tenures, it became necessary to have some troops, particularly a body of light cavalry, in constant pay. It was one of the privileges of the nobles, that their lands were exempt from the burden of taxes. The charge of supporting the troops requisite for the public safety fell wholly upon the cities, and their kings being obliged frequently to apply to them for aid, found it necessary to gain their favour by concessions, which not only extended their immunities, but added to their wealth and power.

When the influence of all these circumstances, peculiar to Spain, is added to the general and common causes which contributed to aggrandize cities in other countries of Europe, this will fully account for the extensive privileges which they acquired, as well as for the extraordinary considerations to which they attained, in all the Spanish kingdoms,

By these exorbitant privileges of the nobility, and this unusual power of the cities in Spain, the royal prerogative was hemmed in on every side, and reduced within very narrow bounds. Sensible of this, and impatient of such restraint, several monarchs endeavoured, at various junctures and by different means, to enlarge their own jurisdiction. Their power, however, or their abilities, were so unequal to the undertaking, that their efforts were attended with little success. But when Ferdinand and Isabella found themselves at the head of the united kingdoms of Spain, and delivered from the danger and interruption of domestic wars, they were not only in a condition to resume, but were able to prosecute with advantage, the schemes of extending the prerogative, which their ancestors had attempted in vain. Ferdinand's profound sagacity in concerting his measures, his persevering industry in conducting them, and his uncommon address in carrying them into execution, fitted him admirably for an undertaking which required all these talents.

As the overgrown power and high pretensions of the nobility were what the monarchs of Spain felt most sensibly, and bore with the greatest impatience, the great confidence of Ferdinand's policy was to reduce these within more moderate bounds. Under various pretexts, sometimes by violence, more frequently in consequence of decrees obtained in the courts of law, he wrested from the barons a great part of the lands which had been granted to them by the inconsiderate bounty of former monarchs, particularly during the feeble and profuse reign of his predecessor, Henry IV. He did not

give the entire conduct of affairs to persons of noble birth, who were accustomed to occupy every department of importance in peace or in war, as if it had been a privilege peculiar to their order to be employed as the sole counsellors and ministers of the crown. He often transacted business of great consequence without their intervention, and bestowed many offices of power and trust on new men devoted to his interest. He introduced a degree of state and dignity into his court, which being little known in Spain while it remained split into many small kingdoms, taught the nobles to approach their sovereign with more ceremony, and gradually rendered him the object of greater deference and respect.

The annexing the masterships of the three military orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, to the crown, was another expedient by which Ferdinand greatly augmented the revenue and power of the kings of Spain. These orders were instituted in imitation of those of the knights templars and of St. John of Jerusalem, on purpose to wage perpetual war with the Mahometans, and to protect the pilgrims who visited Compostella or other places of eminent sanctity in Spain. The zeal and superstition of the ages in which they were founded, prompted persons of every rank to bestow such liberal donations on those holy warriors, that in a short time they engrossed a considerable share in the property and wealth of the kingdom. The masterships of these orders came to be stations of the greatest power and opulence to which a Spanish nobleman could be advanced. These high dignities were in the disposal of the knights of the order, and placed the persons on whom they conferred them almost on a level with their sovereign. Ferdinand, unwilling that the nobility, whom he considered as already too formidable, should derive such additional credit and influence from possessing the government of these wealthy fraternities,

was solicitous to wrest it out of their hands, and to vest it in the crown. His measures for accomplishing this were wisely planned, and executed with vigour. By address, by promises, and by threats, he prevailed on the knights of each order to place Isabella and him at the head of it. Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. gave this election the sanction of papal authority; and subsequent pontiffs rendered the annexation of these masterships to the crown perpetual.

But though Ferdinand by these measures considerably enlarged the boundaries of prerogative, and acquired a degree of influence and power far beyond what any of his predecessors had enjoyed, yet the limitations of the royal authority, as well as the barriers against its encroachments, continued to be many and strong. The spirit of liberty was vigorous among the people of Spain; the spirit of independence was high among the nobility; and though the love of glory peculiar to the Spaniards in every period of their history prompted them to support Ferdinand with zeal in his foreign operations, and to afford him such aid as enabled him not only to undertake but to execute great enterprises, he reigned over his subjects with a jurisdiction less extensive than that of any of the great monarchs in Europe. It will appear from many passages in the following history, that during a considerable part of the reign of his successor Charles V., the prerogative of the Spanish crown was equally circumscribed.

The ancient government and laws in France so nearly resemble those of the other feudal kingdoms, that such a detail with respect to them as was necessary in order to convey some idea of the nature and effects of the peculiar institutions which took place in Spain, would be superfluous. In the view which I have exhibited of the means by which the French monarchs acquired such a full command of the national force of their kingdom as enabled them to engage in extensive schemes of foreign operation. I have already



pointed out the great steps by which they advanced towards a more ample possession of political power, and a more uncontrolled exercise of their royal prerogative. All that now remains is to take notice of such particulars in the constitution of France, as serve either to distinguish it from that of other countries, or tend to throw any light on the transactions of that period to which the following history extends.

Under the French monarchs of the first race, the royal prerogative was very inconsiderable. The general assemblies of the nation, which met annually at stated seasons, extended their authority to every department of government. The power of electing kings, of enacting laws, of redressing grievances, of conferring donations on the prince, of passing judgment in the last resort, with respect to every person and to every cause, resided in this great convention of the nation. Under the second race of kings, notwithstanding the power and splendour which the conquests of Charlemagne added to the crown, the general assemblies of the nation continued to possess extensive authority. The right of determining which of the royal family should be placed on the throne, was vested in them. The princes elevated to that dignity by their suffrage, were accustomed regularly to call and to consult them with respect to every affair of importance to the state; and without their consent no law was passed and no new tax was levied.

But by the time that Hugh Capet, the father of the third race of kings, took possession of the throne of France, such changes had happened in the political state of the kingdom as considerably affected the power and jurisdiction of the general assembly of the nation. The royal authority, in the hands of the degenerate posterity of Charlemagne, had dwindled into insignificance and contempt. Every considerable proprietor of land had formed his territory into a barony, almost independent of the sovereign. The dukes or governors of provinces, the counts or

governors of towns and small districts, and the great officers of the crown, had rendered these dignities, which originally were granted only during pleasure or for life, hereditary in their families. Each of these had usurped all the rights which hitherto had been deemed the distinctions of royalty, particularly the privileges of dispensing justice within their own domains, of coining money, and of waging war. Every district was governed by local customs, acknowledged a distinct lord, and pursued a separate interest. The formality of doing homage to their sovereign was almost the only act of subjection which those haughty barons would perform, and that bound them no farther than they were willing to acknowledge its obligation.

In a kingdom broken into so many independent baronies, hardly any common principle of union remained; and the general assembly, in its deliberations, could scarcely consider the nation as forming one body, or establish common regulations to be of equal force in every part. Within the immediate domains of the crown the king might publish laws, and they were obeyed, because there he was acknowledged as the only lord. But if he had aimed at rendering these laws general, that would have alarmed the barons as an encroachment upon the independence of their jurisdiction. The barons, when met in the great national convention, avoided with no less care the enacting of general laws to be observed in every part of the kingdom, because the execution of them must have been vested in the king, and would have enlarged that paramount power which was the object of their jealousy. Thus, under the descendants of Hugh Capet, the states-general (for that was the name by which the supreme assembly of the French nation came then to be distinguished) lost their legislative authority, or at least entirely relinquished the exercise of it. From that period the jurisdiction of the states-general extended no farther than to the imposition of new taxes, the determination of

questions with respect to the right of succession to the crown, the settling of the regency when the preceding monarch had not fixed it by his will, and the presenting remonstrances enumerating the grievances of which the nation wished to obtain redress.

As, during several centuries, the monarchs of Europe seldom demanded extraordinary subsidies of their subjects, and the other events which required the interposition of the states rarely occurred, their meetings in France were not frequent. They were summoned occasionally by their kings, when compelled by their wants or by their fears to have recourse to the great convention of their people; but they did not, like the diet in Germany, the cortes in Spain, or the parliament in England, form an essential member of the constitution, the regular exertion of whose powers was requisite to give vigour and order to government.

When the states of France ceased to exercise legislative authority, the kings began to assume it. They ventured at first on acts of legislation with great reserve, and after taking every precaution that could prevent their subjects from being alarmed at the exercise of a new power. They did not at once issue their ordinances in a tone of authority and command. They treated with their subjects; they pointed out what was best, and allured them to comply with it. By degrees, however, as the prerogative of the crown extended, and as the supreme jurisdiction of the royal courts came to be established, the kings of France assumed more openly the style and authority of lawgivers; and, before the beginning of the fifteenth century, the complete legislative power was vested in the crown.

Having secured this important acquisition, the steps which led to the right of imposing taxes were rendered few and easy. The people, accustomed to see their sovereigns issue ordinances, by their sole authority, which regulated points of the greatest

consequence with respect to the property of their subjects, were not alarmed when they were required, by the royal edicts, to contribute certain sums towards supplying the exigences of government, and carrying forward the measures of the nation. When Charles VII. and Louis XI. first ventured to exercise this new power in the manner which I have already described, the gradual increase of the royal authority had so imperceptibly prepared the minds of the people of France for this innovation, that it excited no commotion in the kingdom, and seems scarcely to have given rise to any murmur or complaint.

When the kings of France had thus engrossed every power which can be exerted in government; when the right of making laws, of levying money, of keeping an army of mercenaries in constant pay, of declaring war, and of concluding peace, centred in the crown, the constitution of the kingdom, which, under the first race of kings, was nearly democratical; which, under the second race, became an aristocracy; terminated, under the third race, in a pure monarchy. Every thing that tended to preserve the appearance or revive the memory of the ancient mixed government, seems from that period to have been industriously avoided. During the long and active reign of Francis I., the variety as well as extent of whose operations obliged him to lay many heavy impositions on his subjects, the states-general of France were not once assembled, nor were the people once allowed to exert the power of taxing themselves, which, according to the original ideas of feudal government, was a right essential to every freeman.

Two things, however, remained, which moderated the exercise of the regal prerogative, and restrained it within such bounds as preserved the constitution of France from degenerating into mere despotism. The rights and privileges claimed by the nobility must be considered as one barrier against the absolute dominion of the crown. Though the nobles of



France had lost that political power which was vested in their order as a body, they still retained the personal rights and pre-eminence which they derived from their rank. To this we may ascribe, in a great measure, the mode of exercising the royal prerogative which peculiarly distinguishes the government of that kingdom. An intermediate order was placed between the monarch and his other subjects, and in every act of authority it became necessary to attend to its privileges, and not only to guard against any real violation of them, but to avoid any suspicion of supposing it to be possible that they might be violated. Thus a species of government was established in France, unknown in the ancient world, that of a monarchy, in which the power of the sovereign, though unconfined by any legal or constitutional restraint, has certain bounds set to it by the ideas which one class of his subjects entertain concerning their own dignity.

The jurisdiction of the parliaments in France, particularly that of Paris, was the other barrier which served to confine the exercise of the royal prerogative within certain limits. The parliament of Paris was originally the court of the kings of France, to which they committed the supreme administration of justice within their own domains, as well as the power of deciding with respect to all cases brought before it by appeals from the courts of the barons. When, in consequence of events and regulations which have been mentioned formerly, the time and place of its meeting were fixed, when not only the form of its procedure, but the principles on which it decided, were rendered regular and consistent, when every cause of importance was finally determined there, and when the people became accustomed to resort thither as to the supreme temple of justice, the parliament of Paris rose to high estimation in the kingdom, its members acquired dignity, and its decrees were submitted to with deference. The members of this illustrious body, though they neither possess le-

gislative authority, nor can be considered as the representatives of the people, have availed themselves of the reputation and influence which they had acquired among their countrymen, in order to make a stand, to the utmost of their ability, against every unprecedented and exorbitant exertion of the prerogative. In every period of the French history, they have merited the praise of being the virtuous but feeble guardians of the rights and privileges of the nation.

After taking this view of the political state of France, I proceed to consider that of the German empire, from which Charles V. derived his title of highest dignity. In explaining the constitution of this great and complex body at the beginning of the sixteenth century, I shall avoid entering into such a detail as would involve my readers in that inextricable labyrinth which is formed by the multiplicity of its tribunals, the number of its members, their interfering rights, and by the endless discussions or refinements of the public lawyers of Germany with respect to all these.

The empire of Charlemagne was a structure erected in so short a time, that it could not be permanent. Under his immediate successor it began to totter, and soon after fell to pieces. The crown of Germany was separated from that of France, and the descendants of Charlemagne established two great monarchies, so situated as to give rise to a perpetual rivalry and enmity between them. But the princes of the race of Charlemagne who were placed on the imperial throne, were not altogether so degenerate as those of the same family who reigned in France. In the hands of the former, the royal authority retained some vigour, and the nobles of Germany, though possessed of extensive privileges as well as ample territories, did not so early attain independence. The great offices of the crown continued to be at the disposal of the sovereign, and during a long period fiefs remained in their original state, without becoming hereditary and perpetual

in the families of the persons to whom they had been granted.

At length the German branch of the family of Charlemagne became extinct, and his feeble descendants who reigned in France had sunk into such contempt, that the Germans, without looking towards them, exercised the right inherent in a free people, and in a general assembly of the nation elected Conrad, count of Franconia, emperor. After him Henry of Saxony, and his descendants, the three Othos, were placed in succession on the imperial throne, by the suffrages of their countrymen. The extensive territories of the Saxon emperors, their eminent abilities and enterprising genius, not only added new vigour to the imperial dignity, but raised it to higher power and pre-eminence. Otho the Great marched at the head of a numerous army into Italy, and, after the example of Charlemagne, gave law to that country. Every power there recognised his authority. He created popes and deposed them by his sovereign mandate. He annexed the kingdom of Italy to the German empire. Elated with his success, he assumed the title of Cæsar Augustus. A prince born in the heart of Germany pretended to be the successor of the emperors of ancient Rome, and claimed a right to the same power and prerogative.

But while the emperors, by means of these new titles and new dominions, gradually acquired additional authority and splendour, the nobility of Germany had gone on at the same time extending their privileges and jurisdiction. Every baron began to exercise sovereign jurisdiction within his own domains; and the dukes and counts of Germany took wide steps towards rendering their territories distinct and independent states. The Saxon emperors observed their progress, and were aware of its tendency. But as they could not hope to humble vassals already grown too potent, unless they had turned their whole force as well as attention to that enter

prise, and as they were extremely intent on their expeditions into Italy, which they could not undertake without the concurrence of their nobles, they were solicitous not to alarm them by any direct attack on their privileges and jurisdictions. They aimed, however, at undermining their power. With this view they inconsiderately bestowed additional territories and accumulated new honours on the clergy, in hopes that this order might serve as a counterpoise to that of the nobility in any future struggle.

The unhappy effects of this fatal error in policy were quickly felt. Under the emperors of the Franconian and Suabian lines, whom the Germans by their voluntary election placed on the imperial throne, a new face of things appeared, and a scene was exhibited in Germany which astonished all Christendom at that time, and in the present age appears almost incredible. The popes hitherto depended on the emperors, and indebted for power as well as dignity to their beneficence and protection, began to claim a superior jurisdiction; and, in virtue of authority which they pretended to derive from Heaven, tried, condemned, excommunicated, and deposed, their former masters. Nor is this to be considered merely as a frantic sally of passion in a pontiff intoxicated with high ideas concerning the extent of priestly domination and the plenitude of papal authority. Gregory VII. was able as well as daring. His presumption and violence were accompanied with political discernment and sagacity. He had observed that the princes and nobles of Germany had acquired such considerable territories and such extensive jurisdiction, as rendered them not only formidable to the emperors, but disposed them to favour any attempt to circumscribe their power. He foresaw that the ecclesiastics of Germany, raised almost to a level with its princes, were ready to support any person who would stand forth as the protector of their privileges and independence. With both of these Gregory negotiated.



and had secured many devoted adherents among them before he ventured to enter the lists against the head of the empire.

He began his rupture with Henry IV. upon a pretext that was popular and plausible. He complained of the venality and corruption with which the emperor had granted the investiture of benefices to ecclesiastics. He contended that this right belonged to him as the head of the church; he required Henry to confine himself within the bounds of his civil jurisdiction, and to abstain for the future from such sacrilegious encroachments on the spiritual dominion. All the censures of the church were denounced against Henry, because he refused to relinquish those powers which his predecessors had uniformly exercised. The most considerable of the German princes and ecclesiastics were excited to take arms against him. His mother, his wife, his sons, were wrought upon to disregard all the ties of blood as well as of duty, and to join the party of his enemies. Such were the successful arts with which the court of Rome inflamed the superstitious zeal and conducted the factious spirit of the Germans and Italians, that an emperor distinguished not only for many virtues, but possessed of considerable talents, was at length obliged to appear as a suppliant at the gate of the castle in which the pope resided, and to stand there three days barefooted in the depth of winter, imploring a pardon, which at length he obtained with difficulty.

This act of humiliation degraded the imperial dignity. Nor was the depression momentary only. The contest between Gregory and Henry gave rise to the two great factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines; the former of which supporting the pretensions of the popes, and the latter defending the rights of the emperor, kept Germany and Italy in perpetual agitation during three centuries; and during the anarchy of the long interregnum subsequent to the death of William of Holland, it dwindled

down almost to nothing. Rodulph of Hapsburg, the founder of the House of Austria, and who first opened the way to its future grandeur, was at length elected emperor, not that he might re-establish and extend the imperial authority, but because his territories and influence were so inconsiderable as to excite no jealousy in the German princes, who were willing to preserve the forms of a constitution the power and vigour of which they had destroyed. Several of his successors were placed on the imperial throne from the same motive; and almost every remaining prerogative was wrested out of the hands of feeble princes unable to exercise or to defend them.

During this period of turbulence and confusion, the constitution of the Germanic body underwent a total change. The ancient names of courts and magistrates, together with the original forms and appearance of policy, were preserved; but such new privileges and jurisdiction were assumed, and so many various rights established, that the same species of government no longer subsisted. The princes, the great nobility, the dignified ecclesiastics, the free cities, had taken advantage of the interregnum which I have mentioned, to establish or to extend their usurpations, and hardly any principle remained in the German constitution, of sufficient force to maintain public order, or even to ascertain personal security. From the accession of Rodulph of Hapsburg, to the reign of Maximilian, the immediate predecessor of Charles V., the empire felt every calamity which a state must endure when the authority of government is so much relaxed as to have lost its proper degree of vigour. The causes of dissension among that vast number of members which composed the Germanic body, were infinite and unavoidable. These gave rise to perpetual private wars, which were carried on with all the violence that usually accompanies resentment when unrestrained by superior authority. Rapine, outrage, exactions, became

universal. Commerce was interrupted; industry suspended; and every part of Germany resembled a country which an enemy had plundered and left desolate. The variety of expedients employed with a view to restore order and tranquillity, prove that the grievances occasioned by this state of anarchy had grown intolerable. Arbiters were appointed to terminate the differences among the several states. The cities united in a league, the object of which was to check the rapine and extortions of the nobility. The nobility formed confederacies, on purpose to maintain tranquillity among their own order. Germany was divided into several circles, in each of which a provincial and partial jurisdiction was established, to supply the place of a public and common tribunal.

But all these remedies were so ineffectual, that they served only to demonstrate the violence of that anarchy which prevailed, and the insufficiency of the means employed to correct it. At length Maximilian re-established public order in the empire, by instituting the imperial chamber, a tribunal composed of judges named partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and vested with authority to decide finally concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. A few years after, by giving a new form to the Aulic council, which takes cognizance of all feudal causes, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, he restored some degree of vigour to the imperial authority.

But notwithstanding the salutary effects of these regulations and improvements, the political constitution of the German empire, at the commencement of the period of which I propose to write the history, was of a species so peculiar as not to resemble perfectly any form of government known either in the ancient or modern world. It was a complex body, formed by the association of several states, each of which possessed sovereign and independent jurisdiction within its own territories. Of

all the members which composed this united body, the emperor was the head. In his name all decrees and regulations, with respect to points of common concern, were issued; and to him the power of carrying them into execution was committed. But this appearance of monarchical power in the emperor was more than counterbalanced by the influence of the princes and states of the empire in every act of administration. No law extending to the whole body could pass, no resolution that affected the general interest could be taken, without the approbation of the diet of the empire. In this assembly every sovereign prince and state of the Germanic body had a right to be present, to deliberate and to vote. The decrees or *recesses* of the diet were the laws of the empire, which the emperor was bound to ratify and enforce.

The emperors of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century were distinguished by the most pompous titles, and by such ensigns of dignity as intimated their authority to be superior to that of all monarchs. The greatest princes of the empire attended and served them, on some occasions, as the officers of their household. They exercised prerogatives which no other sovereign ever claimed. They retained pretensions to all the extensive powers which their predecessors had enjoyed in any former age. But at the same time, instead of possessing that ample domain which had belonged to the ancient emperors of Germany, and which stretched from Basil to Cologne, along both banks of the Rhine, they were stripped of all territorial property, and had not a single city, a single castle, a single foot of land, that belonged to them as heads of the empire. As their domain was alienated, their stated revenues were reduced almost to nothing; and the extraordinary aids which, on a few occasions, they obtained, were granted sparingly and paid with reluctance. The princes and states of the empire, though they seemed to recognise the imperial au-



thority, were subjects only in name, each of them possessing a complete municipal jurisdiction within the precincts of his own territories.

From this ill-compacted frame of government effects that were unavoidable resulted. The emperors, dazzled with the splendour of their titles and the external signs of vast authority, were apt to imagine themselves to be the real sovereigns of Germany, and were led to aim continually at recovering the exercise of those powers which the forms of the constitution seemed to vest in them, and which their predecessors Charlemagne and the Othos had actually enjoyed. The princes and states, aware of the nature as well as extent of these pretensions, were perpetually on their guard in order to watch all the motions of the imperial court, and to circumscribe its power within limits still more narrow. The emperors, in support of their claims, appealed to ancient forms and institutions, which the states held to be obsolete. The states founded their rights on recent practice and modern privileges, which the emperors considered as usurpations.

This jealousy of the imperial authority, together with the opposition between it and the rights of the states, increased considerably from the time that the emperors were elected, not by the collective body of German nobles, but by a few princes of chief dignity. During a long period all the members of the Germanic body had a right to assemble, and to make choice of the person whom they appointed to be their head. But amidst the violence and anarchy which prevailed for several centuries in the empire, seven princes who possessed the most extensive territories, and who had obtained an hereditary title to the great offices of the state, acquired the exclusive privilege of nominating the emperor. This right was confirmed to them by the Golden Bull; the mode of exercising it was ascertained, and they were dignified with the appellation of *Electors*. The nobility and free cities being thus stripped of a privilege

which they had once enjoyed, were less connected with a prince towards whose elevation they had not contributed by their suffrages, and came to be more apprehensive of his authority. The electors, by their extensive power, and the distinguishing privileges which they possessed, became formidable to the emperors, with whom they were placed almost on a level in several acts of jurisdiction. Thus the introduction of the electoral college into the empire, and the authority which it acquired, instead of diminishing, contributed to strengthen, the principles of hostility and discord in the Germanic constitution.

These were farther augmented by the various and repugnant forms of civil policy in the several states which composed the Germanic body. The free cities were small republics, in which the maxims and spirit peculiar to that species of government prevailed. The princes and nobles, to whom supreme jurisdiction belonged, possessed a sort of monarchical power within their own territories, and the forms of their interior administration nearly resembled those of the great feudal kingdoms. The interests, the ideas, the objects, of states so differently constituted, cannot be the same. Nor could their common deliberations be carried on with the same spirit, while the love of liberty and attention to commerce were the reigning principles in the cities, while the desire of power and ardour for military glory were the governing passions of the princes and nobility.

The secular and ecclesiastical members of the empire were as little fitted for union as the free cities and the nobility. Considerable territories had been granted to several of the German bishoprics and abbeys, and some of the highest offices in the empire having been annexed to them inalienably, were held by the ecclesiastics raised to these dignities. The younger sons of noblemen of the second order, who had devoted themselves to the church,

were commonly promoted to these stations of eminence and power; and it was no small mortification to the princes and great nobility, to see persons raised from an inferior rank to the same level with themselves, or even exalted to superior dignity.

To all these causes of dissension may be added one more, arising from the unequal distribution of power and wealth among the states of the empire. The electors, and other nobles of the highest rank, not only possessed sovereign jurisdiction, but governed such extensive, populous, and rich countries, as rendered them great princes. Many of the other members, though they enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty, ruled over such petty domains, that their real power bore no proportion to this high prerogative. A well-compacted and vigorous confederacy could not be formed of such dissimilar states. The weaker were jealous, timid, and unable either to assert or to defend their just privileges. The more powerful were apt to assume, and to become oppressive.

After contemplating all these principles of disunion and opposition in the constitution of the German empire, it will be easy to account for the want of concord and uniformity conspicuous in its councils and proceedings. But the empire of Germany, nevertheless, comprehended countries of such great extent, and was inhabited by such a martial and hardy race of men, that when the abilities of an emperor, or zeal for any common cause, could rouse this unwieldy body to put forth its strength, it acted with almost irresistible force. In the following history we shall find, that as the measures on which Charles V. was most intent were often thwarted or rendered abortive by the spirit of jealousy and division peculiar to the Germanic constitution, so it was by the influence which he acquired over the princes of the empire, and by engaging them to co-operate with him, that he was enabled to make some of the greatest efforts which distinguish his reign.

The Turkish history is so blended, during the reign of Charles V., with that of the great nations in Europe, and the Ottoman Porte interposed so often, and with such decisive influence, in the wars and negotiations of the Christian princes, that some previous account of the state of government in that great empire is no less necessary for the information of my readers than those views of the constitution of other kingdoms which I have already exhibited to them.

It has been the fate of the southern and more fertile parts of Asia, at different periods, to be conquered by that warlike and hardy race of men who inhabit the vast country known to the ancients by the name of Scythia, and among the moderns by that of Tartary. One tribe of these people, called Turks or Turcomans, extended its conquests, under various leaders, and during several centuries, from the shore of the Caspian sea to the straits of the Dardanelles. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, these formidable conquerors took Constantinople by storm, and established the seat of their government in that imperial city. Greece, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the other provinces of the ancient kingdoms of Thrace and Macedonia, together with part of Hungary, were subjected to their power.

But though the seat of the Turkish government was fixed in Europe, and the sultans obtained possession of such extensive dominions in that quarter of the globe, the genius of their policy continued to be purely Asiatic; and may be properly termed a despotism, in contradistinction to those monarchical and republican forms of government which we have been hitherto contemplating. The supreme power was vested in sultans of the Ottoman race, that blood being deemed so sacred, that no other was thought worthy of the throne. From this elevation these sovereigns could look down and behold all their subjects reduced to the same level before them. The maxims of Turkish policy do not authorize any



of those institutions which, in other countries, limit the exercise or moderate the rigour of monarchical power: they admit neither of any great court with constitutional and permanent jurisdiction to interpose, both in enacting laws and in superintending the execution of them; nor of a body of hereditary nobles, whose sense of their own pre-eminence, whose consciousness of what is due to their rank and character, whose jealousy of their privileges, circumscribe the authority of the prince, and serve not only as a barrier against the excesses of his caprice, but stand as an intermediate order between him and the people. Under the Turkish government the political condition of every subject is equal. To be employed in the service of the sultan is the only circumstance that confers distinction. Even this distinction is rather official than personal, and so closely annexed to the station in which any individual serves, that it is scarcely communicated to the persons of those who are placed in them. The highest dignity in the empire does not give any rank or pre-eminence to the family of him who enjoys it. As every man, before he is raised to any station of authority, must go through the preparatory discipline of a long and servile obedience, the moment he is deprived of power he and his posterity return to the same condition with other subjects, and sink back into obscurity. It is the distinguishing and odious characteristic of eastern despotism, that it annihilates all other ranks of men in order to exalt the monarch, that it leaves nothing to the former, while it gives every thing to the latter; that it endeavours to fix in the minds of those who are subject to it, the idea of no relation between men but that of a master and of a slave, the former destined to command and to punish, the latter formed to tremble and obey.

But as there are circumstances which frequently obstruct or defeat the salutary effects of the best-regulated governments, there are others which con-

tribute to mitigate the evils of the most defective forms of policy. There can, indeed, be no constitutional restraints upon the will of a prince in a despotic government; but there may be such as are accidental. Absolute as the Turkish sultans are, they feel themselves circumscribed both by religion, the principle on which their authority is founded, and by the army, the instrument which they must employ in order to maintain it. Wherever religion interposes, the will of the sovereign must submit to its decrees. When the Koran hath prescribed any religious rite, hath enjoined any moral duty, or hath confirmed by its sanction any political maxim, the command of the sultan cannot overturn that which a higher authority hath established. The chief restriction, however, on the will of the sultans, is imposed by the military power. An armed force must surround the throne of every despot, to maintain his authority, and to execute his commands. As the Turks extended their empire over nations which they did not exterminate, but reduce to subjection, they found it necessary to render their military establishment numerous and formidable. Amurath, their third sultan, in order to form a body of troops devoted to his will, that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, commanded his officers to seize annually, as the imperial property, the fifth part of the youth taken in war. These, after being instructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercises, were formed into a body distinguished by the name of *Janizaries*, or new soldiers. Every sentiment which enthusiasm can inspire, every mark of distinction that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed in order to animate this body with martial ardour, and with a consciousness of its own pre-eminence. The janizaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies; and by their number as well

as reputation, were distinguished above all the troops whose duty it was to attend on the person of the sultans.

Thus, as the supreme power in every society is possessed by those who have arms in their hands. this formidable body of soldiers, destined to be the instruments of enlarging the sultan's authority, acquired at the same time the means of controlling it. Under a monarch whose abilities and vigour of mind fit him for command, they are obsequious instruments; executing whatever he enjoins, and rendering his power irresistible. Under feeble princes, or such as are unfortunate, they become turbulent and mutinous; assume the tone of masters; degrade and exalt sultans at pleasure; and teach those to tremble on whose nod at other times life and death depend.

From Mahomet II., who took Constantinople, to Solyman the Magnificent, who began his reign a few months after Charles V. was placed on the imperial throne of Germany, a succession of illustrious princes ruled over the Turkish empire. By their great abilities they kept their subjects of every order, military as well as civil, submissive to government, and had the absolute command of whatever force their vast empire was able to exert. Solyman, in particular, who is known to the Christians chiefly as a conqueror, but is celebrated in the Turkish annals as the great lawgiver who established order and police in their empire, governed, during his long reign, with no less authority than wisdom.

Nor was it only under such sultans as Solyman, whose talents were no less adapted to preserve internal order than to conduct the operations of war, that the Turkish empire engaged with advantage in its contests with the Christian states. The long succession of able princes which I have mentioned, had given such vigour and firmness to the Ottoman government, that it seems to have attained, during the sixteenth century, the highest degree of perfec-

tion of which its constitution was capable : whereas the great monarchies in Christendom were still far from that state which could enable them to act with a full exertion of their force. Besides this, the Turkish troops in that age possessed every advantage which arises from superiority in military discipline. At the time when Solymán began his reign, the janizaries had been embodied near a century and a half ; and during that long period, the severity of their military discipline had in no degree relaxed. The other soldiers, drawn from the provinces of the empire, had been kept almost continually under arms in the various wars which the sultans had carried on, with hardly any interval of peace. Against troops thus trained and accustomed to service, the forces of the Christian powers took the field with great disadvantage. The most intelligent as well as impartial authors of the sixteenth century acknowledge and lament the superior attainments of the Turks in the military art. The success which almost uniformly attended their arms in all their wars, demonstrates the justness of this observation. The Christian armies did not acquire that superiority over the Turks which they now possess, until the long establishment of standing forces had improved military discipline among the former, and until various causes and events, which it is not my province to explain, had corrupted or abolished their ancient warlike institutions among the latter.



**THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.**

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**BOOK I.**

**CHARLES V.** was born at Ghent on the 24th day of February, in the year 1500. His father, Philip the Handsome, archduke of Austria, was the son of the emperor Maximilian, and of Mary, the only child of Charles the Bold, the last prince of the house of Burgundy. His mother, Joanna, was the second daughter of Ferdinand, king of Aragon, and of Isabella, queen of Castile.

A long train of fortunate events had opened the way for this young prince to the inheritance of more extensive dominions than any European monarch, since Charlemagne, had possessed. Each of his ancestors had acquired kingdoms or provinces towards which their prospect of succession was extremely remote. The rich possessions of Mary of Burgundy had been destined for another family, she having been contracted by her father to the only son of Louis XI. of France; but that capricious monarch, indulging his hatred to her family, chose rather to strip her of part of her territories by force, than to secure the whole by marriage; and by this misconduct, fatal to his posterity, he threw all the Netherlands and Franche Compté into the hands of a rival. Isabella, the daughter of John II. of Cas-

tile, far from having any prospect of that noble inheritance which she transmitted to her grandson, passed the early part of her life in obscurity and indigence. But the Castilians were so exasperated against her brother, Henry IV., an ill-advised and vicious prince, that upon his demise, they declared Joanna to be illegitimate, though Henry had uniformly, and even on his death-bed, owned her to be his lawful daughter, and obliging her to retire into Portugal, they placed Isabella on the throne of Castile. Ferdinand owed the crown of Aragon to the unexpected death of his elder brother, and acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood. To all these kingdoms Christopher Columbus, by an effort of genius and of intrepidity the boldest and most successful that is recorded in the annals of mankind, added a new world, the wealth of which became one considerable source of the power and grandeur of the Spanish monarchs.

Don John, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and their eldest daughter, the queen of Portugal, being cut off, without issue, in the flower of youth, all their hopes centred in Joanna, and her posterity. But as her husband, the archduke, was a stranger to the Spaniards, it was thought expedient to invite him into Spain, that, by residing among them, he might accustom himself to their laws and manners; and it was expected that the Cortes, or assembly of States, whose authority was then so great in Spain, that no title to the crown was reckoned valid unless it received their sanction, would acknowledge his right of succession, together with that of the Infanta his wife. Philip and Joanna passing through France in their way to Spain were entertained in that kingdom with the utmost magnificence. The archduke did homage to Louis XII. for the earldom of Flanders, and took his seat as a peer of the realm in the parliament of Paris. They were received in Spain

with every mark of honour that the parental affection of Ferdinand and Isabella, or the respect of their subjects, could devise; and their title to the crown was soon after acknowledged by the cortes of both kingdoms.

But amidst these outward appearances of satisfaction and joy, some secret uneasiness preyed upon the mind of each of these princes. The stately and reserved ceremonial of the Spanish court was so burdensome to Philip, a prince young, gay, affable, fond of society and of pleasure, that he soon began to express a desire of returning to his native country, the manners of which were more suited to his temper. Ferdinand, observing the declining health of his queen, with whose life he knew that his right to the government of Castile must cease, easily foresaw that a prince of Philip's disposition, and who already discovered an extreme impatience to reign, would never consent to his retaining any degree of authority in that kingdom; and the prospect of this diminution of his power awakened the jealousy of that ambitious monarch.

Isabella beheld, with the sentiments natural to a mother, the indifference and neglect with which the archduke treated her daughter, who was destitute of those beauties of person, as well as those accomplishments of mind, which fix the affections of a husband. Her understanding, always weak, was often disordered. She doated on Philip with such an excess of childish and indiscreet fondness, as excited disgust rather than affection. Her jealousy, for which her husband's behaviour gave her too much cause, was proportioned to her love, and often broke out in the most extravagant actions. Isabella, though sensible of her defects, could not help pitying her condition, which was soon rendered altogether deplorable by the archduke's abrupt resolution of setting out in the middle of winter for Flanders, and of leaving her in Spain. Isabella entreated him not to abandon

his wife to grief and melancholy, which might prove fatal to her, as she was near the time of her delivery. Joanna conjured him to put off his journey for three days only, that she might have the pleasure of celebrating the festival of Christmas in his company. Ferdinand, after representing the imprudence of his leaving Spain before he had time to become acquainted with the genius or to gain the affections of the people who were one day to be his subjects, besought him, at least, not to pass through France, with which kingdom he was then at open war. Philip, without regarding either the dictates of humanity or the maxims of prudence, persisted in his purpose; and, on the 22d of December, set out for the Low Countries by the way of France.

From the moment of his departure Joanna sunk into a deep and sullen melancholy, and while she was in that situation bore Ferdinand, her second son, for whom the power of his brother Charles afterwards procured the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and to whom he at last transmitted the imperial sceptre. Joanna was the only person in Spain who discovered no joy at the birth of this prince. Insensible to that, as well as to every other pleasure, she was wholly occupied with the thoughts of returning to her husband; nor did she in any degree recover tranquillity of mind, until she arrived at Brussels next year.

Philip, in passing through France, had an interview with Louis XII., and signed a treaty with him, by which he hoped that all the differences between France and Spain would have been finally terminated. But Ferdinand, whose affairs at that time were extremely prosperous in Italy, where the superior genius of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the great captain, triumphed on every occasion over the arms of France, did not pay the least regard to what his son-in-law had concluded, and carried on hostilities with greater ardour than ever.



From this time Philip seems not to have taken any part in the affairs of Spain, waiting in quiet till the death either of Ferdinand or of Isabella should open the way to one of their thrones. The latter of these events was not far distant. The untimely death of her son and eldest daughter had made a deep impression on the mind of Isabella; and as she could derive but little consolation for the losses she had sustained either from her daughter Joanna, whose infirmities daily increased, or from her son-in-law, who no longer preserved even the appearance of a decent respect towards that unhappy princess, her spirits and health began gradually to decline, and, after languishing some months, she died at Medina del Campo, on the 26th of November, 1504. She was no less eminent for virtue than for wisdom; and whether we consider her behaviour as a queen, as a wife, or as a mother, she is justly entitled to the high encomiums bestowed upon her by the Spanish historians.

A few weeks before her death, she made her last will; and being convinced of Joanna's incapacity to assume the reins of government into her own hands, and having no inclination to commit them to Philip, with whose conduct she was extremely dissatisfied, she appointed Ferdinand regent or administrator of the affairs of Castile, until her grandson Charles should attain the age of twenty. She bequeathed to Ferdinand likewise one-half of the revenues which should arise from the Indies, together with the grand-masterships of the three military orders; dignities which rendered the person who possessed them almost independent, and which Isabella had, for that reason, annexed to the crown. But before she signed a deed so favourable to Ferdinand, she obliged him to swear that he would not, by a second marriage, or by any other means, endeavour to deprive Joanna or her posterity of their right of succession to any of his kingdoms.

Immediately upon the queen's death, Ferdinand resigned the title of king of Castile, and issued orders to proclaim Joanna and Philip the sovereigns of that kingdom. But at the same time he assumed the character of regent, in consequence of Isabella's testament; and not long after, he prevailed on the cortes of Castile to acknowledge his right to that office. This, however, he did not procure without difficulty, nor without discovering such symptoms of alienation and disgust among the Castilians as filled him with great uneasiness. The union of Castile and Aragon for almost thirty years, had not so entirely extirpated the ancient and hereditary enmity which subsisted between the natives of these kingdoms, that the Castilian pride could submit, without murmuring, to the government of a king of Aragon. A formidable party among the Castilians united against Ferdinand; and though the persons who composed it had not hitherto taken any public step in opposition to him, he plainly saw, that upon the least encouragement from their new king they would proceed to the most violent extremities.

There was no less agitation in the Netherlands upon receiving the accounts of Isabella's death, and of Ferdinand's having assumed the government of Castile. Philip was not of a temper tamely to suffer himself to be supplanted by the ambition of his father-in-law. If Joanna's infirmities and the nonage of Charles rendered them incapable of government, he, as a husband, was the proper guardian of his wife, and, as a father, the natural tutor of his son. Nor was it sufficient to oppose to these just rights, and to the inclination of the people of Castile, the authority of a testament, the genuineness of which was perhaps doubtful, and its contents to him appeared certainly to be iniquitous. A keener edge was added to Philip's resentment, and new vigour infused into his councils by the arrival of Don John Manuel. He was Ferdinand's ambassador at the

imperial court; but upon the first notice of Isabella's death, repaired to Brussels, flattering himself that under a young and liberal prince he might attain to power and honours which he could never have expected in the service of an old and frugal master. He had early paid court to Philip during his residence in Spain, with such assiduity as entirely gained his confidence; and having been trained to business under Ferdinand, could oppose his schemes with equal abilities, and with arts not inferior to those for which that monarch was distinguished.

By the advice of Manuel, ambassadors were despatched to require Ferdinand to retire into Aragon, and to resign the government of Castile to those persons whom Philip should intrust with it until his own arrival in that kingdom. Such of the Castilian nobles as had discovered any dissatisfaction with Ferdinand's administration, were encouraged by every method to oppose it. At the same time a treaty was concluded with Louis XII., by which Philip flattered himself that he had secured the friendship and assistance of that monarch.

Meanwhile Ferdinand employed all the arts of address and policy in order to retain the power of which he had got possession. By means of Conchillos, an Aragonian gentleman, he entered into a private negotiation with Joanna, and prevailed on that weak princess to confirm, by her authority, his right to the regency. But this intrigue did not escape the penetrating eye of Don John Manuel: Joanna's letter of consent was intercepted; Conchillos was thrown into a dungeon; she herself confined to an apartment in the palace, and all her Spanish domestics secluded from her presence.

The mortification which the discovery of this intrigue occasioned to Ferdinand, was much increased by his observing the progress which Philip's emissaries made in Castile. Some of the nobles retired to their castles; others to the towns in which they had influence; they formed themselves into con-

federacies, and began to assemble their vassals. Ferdinand's court was almost totally deserted; not a person of distinction but Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, the duke of Alva, and the marquis of Denia, remaining there; while the houses of Philip's ambassadors were daily crowded with noblemen of the highest rank.

Exasperated at this universal defection, and mortified perhaps with seeing all his schemes defeated by a younger politician, Ferdinand resolved, in defiance of the law of nature and of decency, to deprive his daughter and her posterity of the crown of Castile, rather than renounce the regency of that kingdom. His plan for accomplishing this was no less bold than the intention itself was wicked. He demanded in marriage Joanna, the supposed daughter of Henry IV., on the belief of whose illegitimacy Isabella's right to the crown of Castile was founded; and by reviving the claim of this princess, in opposition to which he himself had formerly led armies and fought battles, he hoped once more to get possession of the throne of that kingdom. But Emanuel, king of Portugal, in whose dominions Joanna resided, at that time having married one of Ferdinand's daughters by Isabella, refused his consent to that unnatural match; and the unhappy princess herself, having lost all relish for the objects of ambition by being long immured in a convent, discovered no less aversion to it.

The resources, however, of Ferdinand's ambition were not exhausted. Upon meeting with a repulse in Portugal, he turned towards France, and sought in marriage German de Foix, a daughter of the viscount of Narbonne, and of Mary, the sister of Louis XII. The war which that monarch had carried on against Ferdinand in Naples had been so unfortunate, that he listened with joy to a proposal which furnished him with an honourable pretence for concluding peace: and though no prince was ever more remarkable than Ferdinand for making all his passions bend



to the maxims of interest, or become subservient to the purposes of ambition, yet so vehement was his resentment against his son-in-law, that the desire of gratifying it rendered him regardless of every other consideration. In order to be revenged of Philip by detaching Louis from his interest, and in order to gain a chance of excluding him from his hereditary throne of Aragon, and the dominions annexed to it, he was ready once more to divide Spain into separate kingdoms, though the union of these was the great glory of his reign, and had been the chief object of his ambition; he consented to restore the Neapolitan nobles of the French faction to their possessions and honours; and submitted to the ridicule of marrying, in an advanced age, a princess of eighteen.

The conclusion of this match, which deprived Philip of his only ally, and threatened him with the loss of so many kingdoms, gave him a dreadful alarm, and convinced Don John Manuel that there was now a necessity of taking other measures with regard to the affairs of Spain. He accordingly instructed the Flemish ambassadors in the court of Spain, to testify the strong desire which their master had of terminating all differences between him and Ferdinand in an amicable manner, and his willingness to consent to any conditions that would re-establish the friendship which ought to subsist between a father and a son-in-law. Ferdinand, though he had made and broken more treaties than any prince of any age, was apt to confide so far in the sincerity of other men, or to depend so much upon his own address and their weakness, as to be always extremely fond of a negotiation. He listened with eagerness to the declarations, and soon concluded a treaty at Salamanca; in which it was stipulated, that the government of Castile should be carried on in the joint names of Joanna, of Ferdinand, and of Philip; and that the revenues of the crown, as well as the right of conferring offices,

should be shared between Ferdinand and Philip by an equal division.

Nothing, however, was farther from Philip's thoughts than to observe this treaty. His sole intention in proposing it was to amuse Ferdinand, and to prevent him from taking any measures for obstructing his voyage into Spain. It had that effect. Ferdinand, sagacious as he was, did not for some time suspect his design; and though, when he perceived it, he prevailed on the king of France not only to remonstrate against the archduke's journey, but to threaten hostilities if he should undertake it; though he solicited the duke of Gueldres to attack his son-in-law's dominions in the Low Countries, Philip and his consort nevertheless set sail with a numerous fleet and a good body of land forces. They were obliged by a violent tempest to take shelter in England, where Henry VII., in compliance with Ferdinand's solicitations, detained them upwards of three months; at last they were permitted to depart, and after a more prosperous voyage, they arrived in safety at Corunna in Galicia; nor durst Ferdinand attempt, as he once intended, to oppose their landing by force of arms.

The Castilian nobles, who had been obliged hitherto to conceal or to dissemble their sentiments, now declared openly in favour of Philip. The treaty of Salamanca was universally condemned, and all agreed to exclude from the government of Castile a prince who, by consenting to disjoin Aragon and Naples from that crown, discovered so little concern for its true interests. Ferdinand meanwhile, abandoned by almost all the Castilians, disconcerted by their revolt, and uncertain whether he should peaceably relinquish his power, or take arms in order to maintain it, earnestly solicited an interview with his son-in-law, who, by the advice of Manuel, studiously avoided it. Convinced at last, by seeing the number and zeal of Philip's adherents daily increase, that it was vain to think of resisting such a torrent, Fer-

Ferdinand consented by treaty to resign the regency of Castile into the hands of Philip, to retire into his hereditary dominions of Aragon, and to rest satisfied with the masterships of the military orders, and that share of the revenue of the Indies which Isabella had bequeathed to him. Though an interview between the princes was no longer necessary, it was agreed to on both sides from motives of decency. Philip repaired to the place appointed with a splendid retinue of Castilian nobles, and a considerable body of armed men. Ferdinand appeared without any pomp, attended by a few followers mounted on mules, and unarmed. On that occasion, Don John Manuel had the pleasure of displaying before the monarch whom he had deserted the extensive influence which he had acquired over his new master: while Ferdinand suffered, in presence of his former subjects, the two most cruel mortifications which an artful and ambitious prince can feel; being at once overreached in conduct and stripped of power.

Not long after he retired into Aragon; and hoping that some favourable accident would soon open the way to his return into Castile, he took care to protest, though with great secrecy, that the treaty concluded with his son-in-law, being extorted by force, ought to be deemed void of all obligation.

Philip took possession of his new authority with a youthful joy. The unhappy Joanna, from whom he derived it, remained, during all these contests, under the dominion of a deep melancholy; she was seldom allowed to appear in public; her father, though he had often desired it, was refused access to her; and Philip's chief object was to prevail on the cortes to declare her incapable of government, that an undivided power might be lodged in his hands until his son should attain to full age. But such was the partial attachment of the Castilians to their native princess, that though Manuel had the address to gain some members of the cortes assembled at Valladolid, and others were willing to gratify their

new sovereign in his first request, the great body of the representatives refused their consent to a declaration which they thought so injurious to the blood of their monarchs. They were unanimous, however, in acknowledging Joanna and Philip queen and king of Castile, and their son Charles prince of Asturias.

This was almost the only memorable event during Philip's administration. A fever put an end to his life in the twenty-eighth year of his age, when he had not enjoyed the regal dignity, which he had been so eager to obtain, full three months.

The whole royal authority in Castile ought of course to have devolved upon Joanna. But the shock occasioned by a disaster so unexpected as the death of her husband, completed the disorder of her understanding, and her incapacity for government. During all the time of Philip's sickness, no entreaty could prevail on her, though in the sixth month of her pregnancy, to leave him for a moment. When he expired, however, she did not shed one tear, or utter a single groan. Her grief was silent and settled. She continued to watch the dead body with the same tenderness and attention as if it had been alive; and though at last she permitted it to be buried, she soon removed it from the tomb to her own apartment. There it was laid upon a bed of state, in a splendid dress: and having heard from some monk a legendary tale of a king who revived after he had been dead fourteen years, she kept her eyes almost constantly fixed on the body, waiting for the happy moment of its return to life. While in this state of grief and anxiety, and about three months after the death of Philip, she bore the princess Catherine.

A woman in such a state of mind was little capable of governing a great kingdom; and Joanna, who made it her sole employment to bewail the loss and to pray for the soul of her husband, would have thought her attention to public affairs an impious neglect of those duties which she owed to him.



But though she declined assuming the administration herself, yet, by a strange caprice of jealousy, she refused to commit it to any other person; and no entreaty of her subjects could persuade her to name a regent, or even to sign such papers as were necessary for the execution of justice and the security of the kingdom.

The death of Philip threw the Castilians into the greatest perplexity. It was necessary to appoint a regent both on account of Joanna's frenzy and the infancy of her son; and as there was not among the nobles any person so eminently distinguished either by superiority in rank or abilities as to be called by the public voice to that high office, all naturally turned their eyes either towards Ferdinand, or towards the emperor Maximilian. The former claimed that dignity as administrator for his daughter, and by virtue of the testament of Isabella; the latter thought himself the legal guardian of his grandson, whom, on account of his mother's infirmity, he already considered as king of Castile. Such of the nobility as had lately been most active in compelling Ferdinand to resign the government of the kingdom, trembled at the thoughts of his being restored so soon to his former dignity. They dreaded the return of a monarch not apt to forgive, and who, to those defects with which they were already acquainted, added that resentment which the remembrance of their behaviour, and reflection upon his own disgrace, must naturally have excited. Though none of these objections lay against Maximilian, he was a stranger to the laws and manners of Castile; he had not either troops or money to support his pretensions; nor could his claim be admitted without a public declaration of Joanna's incapacity for government, an indignity to which, notwithstanding the notoriety of her distemper, the delicacy of the Castilians could not bear the thoughts of subjecting her.

Don John Manuel, however, and a few of the nobles who considered themselves as most obnoxious

to Ferdinand's displeasure, declared for Maximilian, and offered to support his claim with all their interest. Maximilian, always enterprising and decisive in council, though feeble and dilatory in execution, eagerly embraced the offer. But a series of ineffectual negotiations was the only consequence of this transaction. The emperor, as usual, asserted his rights in a high strain, promised a great deal, and performed nothing.

A few days before the death of Philip, Ferdinand had set out for Naples, that, by his own presence, he might put an end, with greater decency, to the viceroyalty of the great captain, whose important services and cautious conduct did not screen him from the suspicions of his jealous master. Though an account of his son-in-law's death reached him at Portofino, in the territories of Genoa, he was so solicitous to discover the secret intrigues which he supposed the great captain to have been carrying on, and to establish his own authority on a firm foundation in the Neapolitan dominions, by removing him from the supreme command there, that, rather than discontinue his voyage, he chose to leave Castile in a state of anarchy, and even to risk, by this delay, his obtaining possession of the government of that kingdom.

Nothing but the great abilities and prudent conduct of his adherents could have prevented the bad effects of this absence. At the head of these was Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who, though he had been raised to that dignity by Isabella, contrary to the inclination of Ferdinand, and though he could have no expectation of enjoying much power under the administration of a master little disposed to distinguish him by extraordinary marks of attention, was nevertheless so disinterested as to prefer the welfare of his country before his own grandeur, and to declare that Castile could never be so happily governed as by a prince whom long experience had rendered thoroughly acquainted with its true

interest. The zeal of Ximenes to bring over his countrymen to this opinion, induced him to lay aside somewhat of his usual austerity and haughtiness.

He condescended, on this occasion, to court the disaffected nobles, and employed address as well as arguments to persuade them. Ferdinand seconded his endeavours with great art; and by concessions to some of the grandees, by promises to others, and by letters full of complaisance to all, he gained many of his most violent opponents. Though many cabals were formed, and some commotions were excited, yet when Ferdinand, after having settled the affairs of Naples, arrived in Castile, he entered upon the administration without opposition. The prudence with which he exercised his authority in that kingdom, equalled the good fortune by which he had recovered it. By a moderate but steady administration, free from partiality and from resentment, he entirely reconciled the Castilians to his person, and secured to them, during the remainder of his life, as much domestic tranquillity as was consistent with the genius of the feudal government, which still subsisted among them in full vigour.

Nor was the preservation of tranquillity in his hereditary kingdoms the only obligation which the archduke Charles owed to the wise regency of his grandfather; it was his good fortune, during that period, to have very important additions made to the dominions over which he was to reign. On the coast of Barbary, Oran, and other conquests of no small value, were annexed to the crown of Castile by Cardinal Ximenes, who, with a spirit very uncommon in a monk, led in person a numerous army against the Moors of that country; and with a generosity and magnificence still more singular, defrayed the whole expense of the expedition out of his own revenues. In Europe, Ferdinand, under pretences no less frivolous than unjust, as well as by artifices the most shameful and treacherous, expelled John d'Albert, the lawful sovereign, from the throne

of Navarre; and seizing on that kingdom, extended the limits of the Spanish monarchy from the Pyrenees on the one hand to the frontiers of Portugal on the other.

It was not, however, the desire of aggrandizing the archduke which influenced Ferdinand in this or in any other of his actions. He was more apt to consider that young prince as a rival, who might one day wrest out of his hands the government of Castile, than as a grandson, for whose interest he was intrusted with the administration. This jealousy soon begot aversion and even hatred, the symptoms of which he was at no pains to conceal. Hence proceeded his immoderate joy when his young queen was delivered of a son, whose life would have deprived Charles of the crowns of Aragon, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; and upon the untimely death of that prince, he discovered, for the same reason, an excessive solicitude to have other children. In this, however, he was disappointed, and being now of an advanced age, he speedily sunk into such an habitual languor and dejection of mind as rendered him averse from any serious attention to public affairs, and fond of frivolous amusements, on which he had not hitherto bestowed much time.

Unwilling, however, even at the approach of death to admit a thought of relinquishing any portion of his authority, he removed continually from place to place, in order to fly from his distemper, or to forget it. Though his strength declined every day, none of his attendants durst mention his condition; nor would he admit his father confessor, who thought such silence criminal and unchristian, into his presence. At last the danger became so imminent that it could be no longer concealed. Ferdinand received the intimation with a decent fortitude; and touched perhaps with compunction at the injustice which he had done his grandson, or influenced by the honest remonstrances of Carvajal, Zapara, and Vargas, his most ancient and faithful counsellors



he consented to alter the will which he had made in favour of Prince Ferdinand ; and by a new deed he left Charles the sole heir of all his dominions, and allotted to prince Ferdinand, instead of that throne of which he thought himself almost secure, an inconsiderable establishment of 50,000 ducats a-year. He died a few hours after signing this will, on the 23d day of January, 1516.

Charles, to whom such a noble inheritance descended by his death, was near the full age of sixteen. He had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, his paternal dominions. Margaret of Austria, his aunt, and Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV. of England, and widow of Charles the Bold, two princesses of great virtue and abilities, had the care of forming his early youth. Upon the death of his father, the Flemings committed the government of the Low Countries to his grandfather the emperor Maximilian, with the name rather than the authority of regent. Maximilian made choice of William de Croy, lord of Chievres, to superintend the education of the young prince his grandson. That nobleman possessed in an eminent degree the talents which fitted him for such an important office, and discharged the duties of it with great fidelity. Under Chievres, Adrian of Utrecht acted as preceptor. This preferment, which opened his way to the highest dignities an ecclesiastic can attain, he owed not to his birth, for that was extremely mean ; nor to his interest, for he was a stranger to the arts of a court ; but to the opinion which his countrymen entertained of his learning. But whatever admiration this procured him in an illiterate age, it was soon found that a man accustomed to the retirement of a college, unacquainted with the world, and without any tincture of taste or elegance, was by no means qualified for rendering science agreeable to a young prince. Charles, accordingly, discovered an early aversion to learning, and an excessive fondness for those violent and martial exercises, to excel in

which was the chief pride, and almost the only study, of persons of rank in that age. Chievres encouraged this taste, either from a desire of gaining his pupil by indulgence, or from too slight an opinion of the advantages of literary accomplishments. He instructed him, however, with great care in the arts of government; he made him study the history not only of his own kingdoms, but of those with which they were connected; he accustomed him, from the time of his assuming the government of Flanders in the year 1515, to attend to business; he persuaded him to peruse all papers relating to public affairs; to be present at the deliberations of his privy-counsellors, and to propose to them himself those matters concerning which he required their opinion. From such an education Charles contracted habits of gravity and recollection which scarcely suited his time of life. The first openings of his genius did not indicate that superiority which its maturer age displayed. He did not discover in his youth the impetuosity of spirit which commonly ushers in an active and enterprising manhood. Nor did his early obsequiousness to Chievres, and his other favourites, promise that capacious and decisive judgment which afterwards directed the affairs of one half of Europe. But his subjects, dazzled with the external accomplishments of a graceful figure and manly address, and viewing his character with that partiality which is always shewn to princes during their youth, entertained sanguine hopes of his adding lustre to those crowns which descended to him by the death of Ferdinand.

The kingdoms of Spain, as is evident from the view which I have given of their political constitution, were at that time in a situation which required an administration no less vigorous than prudent.

During the long administration of Ferdinand, no internal commotion, it is true, had arisen in Spain. His superior abilities had enabled him to restrain the turbulence of the nobles, and to moderate the jea-

lousy of the commons. By the wisdom of his domestic government, by the sagacity with which he conducted his foreign operations, and by the high opinion that his subjects entertained of both, he had preserved among them a degree of tranquillity greater than was natural to a constitution in which the seeds of discord and disorder were so copiously mingled. But by the death of Ferdinand these restraints were at once withdrawn; and faction and discontent, from being long repressed, were ready to break out with fiercer animosity.

In order to prevent these evils, Ferdinand had in his last will taken a most prudent precaution, by appointing cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, to be sole regent of Castile, until the arrival of his grandson in Spain. The singular character of this man, and the extraordinary qualities which marked him out for that office at such a juncture, merit a particular description. He was descended of an honourable, not of a wealthy, family: and the circumstances of his parents, as well as his own inclinations, having determined him to enter into the church, he early obtained benefices of great value, and which placed him in the way of the highest preferment. All these, however, he renounced at once; and after undergoing a very severe noviciate, assumed the habit of St. Francis in a monastery of Observantine Friars, one of the most rigid orders in the Romish church. There he soon became eminent for his uncommon austerity of manners, and for those excesses of superstitious devotion which are the proper characteristics of the monastic life. But notwithstanding these extravagances, to which weak and enthusiastic minds alone are usually prone, his understanding, naturally penetrating and decisive, retained its full vigour, and acquired him such great authority in his own order as raised him to be their provincial. His reputation for sanctity soon procured him the office of father confessor to queen Isabella, which he accepted with the utmost reluctance. He

preserved in a court the same austerity of manners which had distinguished him in the cloister. He continued to make all his journeys on foot; he subsisted only upon alms; his acts of mortification were as severe as ever, and his penances as rigorous. Isabella, pleased with her choice, conferred on him, not long after, the archbishopric of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, is the richest dignity in the church of Rome. This honour he declined with a firmness which nothing but the authoritative injunction of the pope was able to overcome. Nor did this height of promotion change his manners. Though obliged to display in public that magnificence which became his station, he himself retained his monastic severity. Under his pontifical robes he constantly wore the coarse frock of St. Francis, the rents in which he used to patch with his own hands. He at no time used linen, but was commonly clad in hair-cloth. He slept constantly in his habit, most frequently on the ground or on boards, rarely in a bed. He did not taste any of the delicacies which appeared at his table, but satisfied himself with that simple diet which the rule of his order prescribed. Notwithstanding these peculiarities, so opposite to the manners of the world, he possessed a thorough knowledge of its affairs; and no sooner was he called by his station, and by the high opinion which Ferdinand and Isabella entertained of him, to take a principal share in the administration, than he displayed talents for business which rendered the fame of his wisdom equal to that of his sanctity. His political conduct, remarkable for the boldness and originality of all his plans, flowed from his real character, and partook both of its virtues and its defects. His extensive genius suggested to him schemes vast and magnificent. Conscious of the integrity of his intentions, he pursued these with unremitting and undaunted firmness. Accustomed from his early youth to mortify his own passions, he shewed little indulgence towards those of other men. Taught by



his system of religion to check even his most innocent desires, he was the enemy of every thing to which he could affix the name of elegance or pleasure. Though free from any suspicion of cruelty, he discovered in all his commerce with the world a severe inflexibility of mind and austerity of character, peculiar to the monastic profession, and which can hardly be conceived in a country where that is unknown.

Such was the man to whom Ferdinand committed the regency of Castile; and though Ximenes was then near fourscore, and perfectly acquainted with the labour and difficulty of the office, his natural intrepidity of mind, and zeal for the public good, prompted him to accept of it without hesitation. Adrian of Utrecht, who had been sent into Spain a few months before the death of Ferdinand, produced full powers from the archduke to assume the name and authority of regent upon the demise of his grandfather; but such was the aversion of the Spaniards to the government of a stranger, and so unequal the abilities of the two competitors, that Adrian's claim would at once have been rejected, if Ximenes himself, from complaisance to his new master, had not consented to acknowledge him as regent, and to carry on the government in conjunction with him. By this, however, Adrian acquired a dignity merely nominal. Ximenes, though he treated him with great decency, and even respect, retained the whole power in his own hands.

The cardinal's first care was to observe the motions of the infant Don Ferdinand, who, having been flattered with so near a prospect of supreme power, bore the disappointment of his hopes with greater impatience than a prince at a period of life so early could have been supposed to feel. Ximenes, under pretence of providing more effectually for his safety, removed him from Guadaloupe, the place in which he had been educated, to Madrid, where he fixed the residence of the court. There he was under the

cardinal's own eye, and his conduct, with that of his domestics, was watched with the utmost attention.

The first intelligence he received from the Low Countries gave great disquiet to the cardinal, and convinced him how difficult a task it would be to conduct the affairs of an inexperienced prince, under the influence of counsellors unacquainted with the laws and manners of Spain. No sooner did the account of Ferdinand's death reach Brussels, than Charles, by the advice of his Flemish ministers, resolved to assume the title of king. By the laws of Spain, the sole right to the crowns both of Castile and of Aragon belonged to Joanna; and though her infirmities disqualified her from governing, this incapacity had not been declared by any public act of the cortes in either kingdom, so that the Spaniards considered this resolution not only as a direct violation of their privileges, but as an unnatural usurpation in a son on the prerogatives of a mother, towards whom, in her present unhappy situation, he manifested a less delicate regard than her subjects had always expressed. The Flemish court, however, having prevailed both on the pope and on the emperor to address letters to Charles as king of Castile, (the former of whom, it was pretended, had a right as head of the church, and the latter as head of the empire, to confer this title,) instructions were sent to Ximenes, to prevail on the Spaniards to acknowledge it. Ximenes, though he had earnestly remonstrated against the measure as no less unpopular than unnecessary, resolved to exert all his authority and credit in carrying it into execution, and immediately assembled such of the nobles as were then at court. What Charles required was laid before them; and when, instead of complying with his demands, they began to murmur against such an unprecedented encroachment on their privileges, and to talk high of the rights of Joanna, and their oath of allegiance to her, Ximenes hastily interposed, and, with that firm and decisive tone which was na-

tural to him, told them that they were not called now to deliberate, but to obey; that their sovereign did not apply to them for advice, but expected submission; and 'This day,' added he, 'Charles shall be proclaimed king of Castile in Madrid; and the rest of the cities, I doubt not, will follow this example.' On the spot he gave orders for that purpose; and notwithstanding the novelty of the practice, and the secret discontents of many persons of distinction, Charles's title was universally recognised. In Aragon, where the privileges of the subject were more extensive, and the abilities as well as authority of the archbishop of Saragossa, whom Ferdinand had appointed regent, were far inferior to those of Ximenes, the same obsequiousness to the will of Charles did not appear, nor was he acknowledged there under any other character but that of prince, until his arrival in Spain.

Ximenes, though possessed only of delegated power, which, from his advanced age, he could not expect to enjoy long, assumed, together with the character of regent, all the ideas natural to a monarch, and adopted schemes for extending the regal authority, which he pursued with as much intrepidity and ardour as if he himself had been to reap the advantages resulting from their success. The exorbitant privileges of the Castilian nobles circumscribed the prerogative of the prince within very narrow limits. These privileges the cardinal considered as so many unjust extortions from the crown, and determined to abridge them.

Immediately upon his accession to the regency, several of the nobles, fancying that the reins of government would of consequence be somewhat relaxed, began to assemble their vassals, and to prosecute, by force of arms, private quarrels and pretensions which the authority of Ferdinand had obliged them to dissemble or to relinquish. But Ximenes, who had taken into pay a good body of troops, opposed and

defeated all their designs with unexpected vigour and facility; and though he did not treat the authors of these disorders with any cruelty, he forced them to acts of submission extremely mortifying to the haughty spirit of Castilian grandees.

But while the cardinal's attacks were confined to individuals, and every act of rigour was justified by the appearance of necessity, founded on the forms of justice, and tempered with a mixture of lenity, there was scarcely room for jealousy or complaint. It was not so with his next measure, which, by striking at a privilege essential to the nobility, gave a general alarm to the whole order. By the feudal constitution the military power was lodged in the hands of the nobles, and men of an inferior condition were called into the field only as their vassals, and to follow their banners. A king with scanty revenues and a limited prerogative depended on those potent barons in all his operations. It was with their forces he attacked his enemies, and with them he defended his kingdom. While at the head of troops attached warmly to their own immediate lords, and accustomed to obey no other commands, his authority was precarious and his efforts feeble. From this state Ximenes resolved to deliver the crown; and as mercenary standing armies were unknown under the feudal government, and would have been odious to a martial and generous people, he issued a proclamation, commanding every city in Castile to enrol a certain number of its burgesses, in order that they might be trained to the use of arms on Sundays and holidays; he engaged to provide officers to command them at the public expense; and as an encouragement to the private men, promised them an exemption from all taxes and impositions. The frequent incursions of the Moors from Africa, and the necessity of having some force always ready to oppose them, furnished a plausible pretence for this innovation. The object really in view was to



secure the king a body of troops independent of his barons, and which might serve to counterbalance their power. During the cardinal's administration he continued to execute his plan with vigour; but soon after his death it was entirely dropped.

His success in this scheme for reducing the exorbitant power of the nobility encouraged him to attempt a diminution of their possessions, which were no less exorbitant.

The nobles, alarmed at these repeated attacks, began to think of precautions for the safety of their order. Many cabals were formed, loud complaints were uttered, and desperate resolutions taken; but before they proceeded to extremities, they appointed some of their number to examine the powers in consequence of which the cardinal exercised acts of such high authority. The admiral of Castile, the duke de Infantando, and the Conde de Benevento, grandees of the first rank, were intrusted with this commission. Ximenes received them with cold civility; and in answer to their demand, produced the testament of Ferdinand by which he was appointed regent, together with the ratification of that deed by Charles. To both these they objected; and he endeavoured to establish their validity. As the conversation grew warm, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, from which they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, and of a formidable train of artillery. 'Behold,' says he, pointing to these and raising his voice, 'the powers which I have received from his catholic majesty. With these I govern Castile; and with these I will govern it until the king, your master and mine, takes possession of his kingdom.' A declaration so bold and haughty silenced them and astonished their associates. To take arms against a man aware of his danger, and prepared for his defence, was what despair alone would dictate. All thoughts of a general confederacy against the cardinal's administration were laid aside; and, except from some slight commotions excited by the private

resentment of particular noblemen, the tranquillity of Castile suffered no interruption.

It was not only from the opposition of the Spanish nobility that obstacles arose to the execution of the cardinal's schemes; he had a constant struggle to maintain with the Flemish ministers, who, presuming upon their favour with the young king, aimed at directing the affairs of Spain as well as those of their own country. Jealous of the great abilities and independent spirit of Ximenes, they considered him rather as a rival who might circumscribe their power, than as a minister who by his prudence and vigour was adding to the grandeur and authority of their master. Every complaint against his administration was listened to with pleasure by the courtiers in the Low Countries. Unnecessary obstructions were thrown by their means in the way of all his measures; and though they could not either with decency or safety deprive him of the office of regent, they endeavoured to lessen his authority by dividing it. They soon discovered that Adrian of Utrecht, already joined with him in office, had neither genius nor spirit sufficient to give the least check to his proceedings; and therefore Charles, by their advice, added to the commission of regency La Chau, a gentleman, and afterwards Amerstorf, a nobleman of Holland; the former distinguished for his address, the latter for his firmness. Ximenes, though no stranger to the malevolent intention of the Flemish courtiers, received these new associates with all the external marks of distinction due to the office with which they were invested; but when they came to enter upon business, he abated nothing of that air of superiority with which he had treated Adrian, and still retained the sole direction of affairs. The Spaniards, more averse, perhaps, than any other people to the government of strangers, approved of all his efforts to preserve his own authority. Even the nobles, influenced by this national passion, not forgetting their jealousies and discon-

rather to see the supreme power in the hands of one of their countrymen whom they feared, than in those of foreigners, whom they hated.

Ximenes, though engaged in such great schemes of domestic policy, and embarrassed by the artifices and intrigues of the Flemish ministers, had the burden of two foreign wars to support. The one was in Navarre, which was invaded by its unfortunate monarch, John d'Albert. The death of Ferdinand, the absence of Charles, the discord and disaffection which reigned among the Spanish nobles, seemed to present him with a favourable opportunity of recovering his dominions. The cardinal's vigilance, however, defeated a measure so well concerted. While the king was employed with one part of his army in the siege of St. Jean Pied en Port, Villalva, an officer of great experience and courage, attacked the other by surprise, and cut it to pieces. The king instantly retreated with precipitation, and an end was put to the war. But as Navarre was filled at that time with towns and castles slightly fortified and weakly garrisoned, which, being unable to resist an enemy, served only to furnish him with places of retreat, Ximenes, always bold and decisive in his measures, ordered every one of these to be dismantled except Pampeluna, the fortifications of which he proposed to render very strong. To this uncommon precaution Spain owes the possession of Navarre.

The other war, which he carried on in Africa against the famous adventurer Horuc Barbarossa, who, from a private corsair, raised himself, by his singular valour and address, to be king of Algiers and Tunis, was far from being equally successful. The ill conduct of the Spanish general, and the rash valour of his troops, presented Barbarossa with an easy victory. Many perished in the battle, more in the retreat, and the remainder returned into Spain covered with infamy. The magnanimity, however, with which the cardinal bore this disgrace, the only

one he experienced during his administration, added new lustre to his character.

This disaster was soon forgotten; while the conduct of the Flemish court proved the cause of constant uneasiness, not only to the cardinal, but to the whole Spanish nation. All the great qualities of Chievres, the prime minister and favourite of the young king, were sullied with an ignoble and sordid avarice. During the time of Charles's residence in Flanders, the whole tribe of pretenders to offices or to favour, resorted thither. They soon discovered that without the patronage of Chievres it was vain to hope for preferment; nor did they want sagacity to find out the proper method of securing his protection. Great sums of money were drawn out of Spain. Every thing was venal, and disposed of to the highest bidder. After the example of Chievres, the inferior Flemish ministers engaged in this traffic, which became as general and avowed as it was infamous. The Spaniards were filled with rage when they beheld offices of great importance to the welfare of their country set to sale by strangers unconcerned for its honour or its happiness. Ximenes, disinterested in his whole administration, and a stranger, from his native grandeur of mind, to the passion of avarice, inveighed with the utmost boldness against the venality of the Flemings. He represented to the king, in strong terms, the murmurs and indignation which their behaviour excited among a free and high-spirited people, and besought him to set out, without loss of time, for Spain, that, by his presence, he might dissipate the clouds which were gathering all over the kingdom.

Charles was fully sensible that he had delayed too long to take possession of his dominions in Spain. Powerful obstacles, however, stood in his way, and detained him in the Low Countries. The war which the league of Cambray had kindled in Italy still subsisted; though, during its course, the armies



of all the parties engaged in it had changed their destination and their objects. France was now in alliance with Venice, which it had at first combined to destroy; Maximilian and Ferdinand had for some years carried on hostilities against France, their original ally, to the valour of whose troops the confederacy had been indebted in a great measure for its success. Together with his kingdoms Ferdinand transmitted this war to his grandson; and there was reason to expect that Maximilian, always fond of new enterprises, would persuade the young monarch to enter into it with ardour. But the Flemings, who had long possessed an extensive commerce, which, during the league of Cambray, had grown to a great height upon the ruins of the Venetian trade, dreaded a rupture with France; and Chievres, sagacious to discern the true interest of his country, and not warped on this occasion by his love of wealth, warmly declared for maintaining peace with the French nation. Francis I. destitute of allies, and solicitous to secure his late conquests in Italy by a treaty, listened with joy to the first overtures of accommodation. Chievres himself conducted the negotiation in the name of Charles: Gouffier appeared as plenipotentiary for Francis. A few days after opening their conferences at Noyon, they concluded a treaty of confederacy and mutual defence between the two monarchs; the chief articles in which were, that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his eldest daughter the princess Louise, an infant of a year old, and, as her dowry, should make over to him all his claims and pretensions upon the kingdom of Naples; that, in consideration of Charles's being already in possession of Naples, he should, until the accomplishment of the marriage, pay 100,000 crowns a-year to the French king, and the half of that sum annually, as long as the princess had no children; that when Charles shall arrive in Spain, the heirs of the king of Navarre may represent to him their right to that kingdom; and if, after

examining their claim, he does not give them satisfaction, Francis shall be at liberty to assist them with all his forces. This alliance not only united Charles and Francis, but obliged Maximilian, who was unable alone to cope with the French and Venetians, to enter into a treaty with those powers; which put a final period to the bloody and tedious war that the league of Cambray had occasioned. Europe enjoyed a few years of universal tranquillity, and was indebted for that blessing to two princes whose rivalry and ambition kept it in perpetual discord and agitation during the remainder of their reigns.

By the treaty of Noyon Charles secured a safe passage into Spain. It was not, however, the interest of his Flemish ministers that he should visit that kingdom soon. While he resided in Flanders, the revenues of the Spanish crown were spent there, and they engrossed, without any competitors, all the effects of their monarch's generosity; their country became the seat of government, and all favours were dispensed by them. Of all these advantages they ran the risk of seeing themselves deprived, from the moment that their sovereign entered Spain. But what Chievres chiefly wished to avoid was an interview between the king and Ximenes. He was afraid the cardinal might obtain an influence over the mind of the young monarch, which would materially diminish that which he possessed. For these reasons all the Flemish counsellors combined to retard the king's departure; and Charles, unsuspecting from want of experience, and fond of his native country, suffered himself to be unnecessarily detained in the Netherlands a whole year after signing the treaty of Noyon.

The repeated entreaties of Ximenes, the advice of his grandfather Maximilian, and the impatient murmurs of his Spanish subjects, prevailed on him at last to embark. He was attended not only by Chievres, his prime minister, but by a numerous and

splendid train of the Flemish nobles, fond of beholding the grandeur, or of sharing in the bounty, of their prince. After a dangerous voyage he landed at Villa Viciosa, in the province of Asturias, and was received with such loud acclamations of joy as a new monarch whose arrival was so ardently desired had reason to expect. The Spanish nobility resorted to their sovereign from all parts of the kingdom, and displayed a magnificence which the Flemings were unable to emulate.

Ximenes, who considered the presence of the king as the greatest blessing to his dominions, was advancing towards the coast as fast as the infirm state of his health would permit, in order to receive him. During his regency, and notwithstanding his extreme old age, he had abated in no degree the rigour or frequency of his mortifications; and to these he added such laborious assiduity in business as would have worn out the most youthful and vigorous constitution. Wasted by such a course of life the infirmities of age daily grew upon him. On his journey a violent disorder seized him at Bos Equillos, attended with uncommon symptoms; which his followers considered as the effects of poison, but could not agree whether the crime ought to be imputed to the hatred of the Spanish nobles, or to the malice of the Flemish courtiers. This accident obliging him to stop short, he wrote to Charles, and with his usual boldness advised him to dismiss all the strangers in his train, whose numbers and credit gave offence already to the Spaniards, and would ere long alienate the affections of the whole people. At the same time he earnestly desired to have an interview with the king, that he might inform him of the state of the nation and the temper of his subjects. To prevent this, not only the Flemings, but the Spanish grandees, employed all their address, and industriously kept Charles at a distance from Aranda, the place to which the cardinal had removed. Through their suggestions

every measure that he recommended was rejected ; the utmost care was taken to make him feel, and to point out to the whole nation, that his power was on the decline ; even in things purely trivial, such a choice was always made as was deemed most disagreeable to him. Ximenes did not bear this treatment with his usual fortitude of spirit. He could not refrain from giving vent to his indignation and complaints. While his mind was agitated by these passions, he received a letter from the king, in which after a few cold and formal expressions of regard, he was allowed to retire to his diocese, that after a life of such continued labour he might end his days in tranquillity. This message proved fatal to Ximenes. His haughty mind, it is probable, could not survive disgrace ; perhaps his generous heart could not bear the prospect of the misfortunes ready to fall on his country. Whichsoever of these opinions we embrace, certain it is that he expired a few hours after reading the letter. The variety, the grandeur, and the success of his schemes, during a regency of only twenty months, leave it doubtful whether his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldness in execution, deserve the greatest praise. His reputation is still high in Spain, not only for wisdom, but for sanctity ; and he is the only prime minister mentioned in history whom his contemporaries revered as a saint, and to whom the people under his government ascribed the power of working miracles.

Soon after the death of Ximenes, Charles made his public entry with great pomp into Valladolid, whither he had summoned the cortes of Castile. Though he assumed on all occasions the name of king, that title had never been acknowledged in the cortes. The Spaniards considering Joanna as possessed of the sole right to the crown, and no example of a son's having enjoyed the title of king during the life of his parents occurring in their history, the cortes discovered all that scrupulous



respect for ancient forms, and that aversion to innovation, which are conspicuous in popular assemblies. The presence, however, of their prince, the address, the artifices, and the threats of his ministers, prevailed on them at last to proclaim him king, in conjunction with his mother, whose name they appointed to be placed before that of her son in all public acts. But when they made this concession, they declared that if at any future period Joanna should recover the exercise of reason, the whole authority should return into her hands. At the same time they voted a free gift of 600,000 ducats to be paid in three years, a sum more considerable than had ever been granted to any former monarch.

Notwithstanding this obsequiousness of the cortes to the will of the king, the most violent symptoms of dissatisfaction with his government began to break out in the kingdom. Chievres had acquired over the mind of the young monarch the ascendant not only of a tutor but of a parent. Charles seemed to have no sentiments but those which his minister inspired, and scarcely uttered a word but what he put into his mouth. He was constantly surrounded by Flemings; no person got access to him without their permission, nor was any admitted to audience but in their presence. Unfortunately for Charles these favourites were unworthy of his confidence. To amass wealth seems to have been their only aim. All honours, offices, and benefices, were either engrossed by the Flemings, or publicly sold by them. Chievres, his wife, and Sauvage, whom Charles, on the death of Ximenes, had imprudently raised to be chancellor of Castile, vied with each other in all the refinements of extortion and venality. The nomination of William de Croy, Chievres' nephew, a young man not of canonical age, to the archbishopric of Toledo, exasperated the Spaniards more than all these exactions. They considered the elevation of a stranger to the head of their church, and to the richest benefice in the kingdom, not only as an injury, but as an

insult to the whole nation; both clergy and laity, the former from interest, the latter from indignation, joined in exclaiming against it.

Charles, leaving Castile thus disgusted with his administration, set out for Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, that he might be present in the cortes of that kingdom. On his way thither he took leave of his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent into Germany on the pretence of visiting their grandfather Maximilian in his old age. To this prudent precaution Charles owed the preservation of his Spanish dominions. During the violent commotions which arose there soon after this period, the Spaniards would infallibly have offered the crown to a prince who was the darling of the whole nation; nor did Ferdinand want ambition, or counsellors, that might have prompted him to accept of the offer.

The Aragonese had not hitherto acknowledged Charles as king, nor would they allow the cortes to be assembled in his name, but in that of the Justiza, to whom, during an interregnum, this privilege belonged. The opposition Charles had to struggle with in the cortes of Aragon was more violent and obstinate than that which he had overcome in Castile; after long delays, however, and with much difficulty, he persuaded the members to confer on him the title of king, in conjunction with his mother. At the same time he bound himself by that solemn oath which the Aragonese exacted of their kings, never to violate any of their rights or liberties. When a donative was demanded, the members were still more intractable; many months elapsed before they would agree to grant Charles 200,000 ducats, and that sum they appropriated so strictly for paying debts of the crown which had long been forgotten, that a very small part of it came into the king's hands.

During these proceedings of the cortes, ambassadors arrived at Saragossa from Francis I. and the young king of Navarre, demanding the restitution

of that kingdom, in terms of the treaty of Noyon. But neither Charles nor the Castilian nobles, whom he consulted on this occasion, discovered any inclination to part with this acquisition. A conference held soon after at Montpelier, in order to bring this matter to an amicable issue, was altogether fruitless; while the French urged the injustice of the usurpation, the Spaniards were attentive only to its importance.

From Aragon Charles proceeded to Catalonia, where he wasted as much time, encountered more difficulties, and gained less money. The Flemings were now become so odious in every province of Spain by their extortions, that the desire of mortifying them, and of disappointing their avarice, augmented the jealousy with which a free people usually conduct their deliberations.

The Castilians, who had felt most sensibly the weight and rigour of the oppressive schemes carried on by the Flemings, resolved no longer to submit with a tameness fatal to themselves, and which rendered them the objects of scorn to their fellow-subjects in the other kingdoms of which the Spanish monarchy was composed. Segovia, Toledo, Seville, and several other cities of the first rank, entered into a confederacy for the defence of their rights and privileges; and notwithstanding the silence of the nobility, who, on this occasion, discovered neither the public spirit nor the resolution which became their order, the confederates laid before the king a full view of the state of the kingdom, and of the maladministration of his favourites. The preferment of strangers, the exportation of the current coin, the increase of taxes, were the grievances of which they chiefly complained; and of these they demanded redress with that boldness which is natural to a free people. These remonstrances, presented at first at Saragossa, and renewed afterwards at Barcelona, Charles treated with great neglect. The confederacy, however, of these cities at this

juncture, was the beginning of that famous union among the commons of Castile, which not long after threw the kingdom into such violent convulsions as shook the throne, and almost overturned the constitution.

Soon after Charles's arrival at Barcelona, he received the account of an event which interested him much more than the murmurs of the Castilians or the scruples of the cortes of Catalonia. This was the death of the emperor Maximilian; an occurrence of small importance in itself, for he was a prince conspicuous neither for his virtues, nor his power, nor his abilities; but rendered by its consequences more memorable than any that had happened during several ages. It broke that profound and universal peace which then reigned in the Christian world; it excited a rivalry between two princes, which threw all Europe into agitation, and kindled wars more general and of longer duration than had hitherto been known in modern times.

The revolutions occasioned by the expedition of the French king Charles VIII. into Italy, had inspired the European princes with new ideas concerning the importance of the imperial dignity. The claims of the empire upon some of the Italian states were numerous; its jurisdiction over others was extensive: and though the former had been almost abandoned, and the latter seldom exercised under princes of slender abilities and of little influence, it was obvious that in the hands of an emperor possessed of power or of genius, they might be employed as engines for stretching his dominion over the greater part of that country. These considerations, added to the dignity of the station, confessedly the first among Christian princes, and to the rights inherent in the office, which, if exerted with vigour, were far from being inconsiderable, rendered the imperial crown more than ever an object of ambition.

Not long before his death, Maximilian had discovered great solicitude to preserve this dignity in the



Austrian family, and to procure the king of Spain to be chosen his successor. But he himself having never been crowned by the pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, was considered only as emperor *elect*. Though historians have not attended to that distinction, neither the Italian nor German chancery bestowed any other title upon him than that of king of the Romans; and no example occurring in history of any person's being chosen a successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their constitution knew no name, obstinately refused to gratify Maximilian in that point.

By his death this difficulty was at once removed, and Charles openly aspired to that dignity which his grandfather had attempted without success to secure for him. At the same time Francis I., a powerful rival, entered the lists against him; and the attention of all Europe was fixed upon this competition, no less illustrious from the high rank of the candidates than from the importance of the prize for which they contended. Each of them urged his pretensions with sanguine expectations, and with no unpromising prospect of success. Charles considered the imperial crown as belonging to him of right, from its long continuance in the Austrian line; he knew that none of the German princes possessed power or influence enough to appear as his antagonist; he flattered himself that no consideration would induce the natives of Germany to exalt any foreign prince to a dignity which, during so many ages, had been deemed peculiar to their own nation; and least of all, that they would confer this honour upon Francis I., the sovereign of a people whose genius and laws and manners differed so widely from those of the Germans, that it was hardly possible to establish any cordial union between them; but what he relied on as a chief recommendation, was the fortunate situation of his hereditary dominions in Germany, which

served as a natural barrier to the empire against the encroachments of the Turkish power. These were the arguments by which Charles publicly supported his claim; and to men of integrity and reflection they appear to be not only plausible but convincing. He did not, however, trust the success of his cause to these alone. Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifice of negotiation were employed; and a considerable body of troops, kept on foot at that time, by the states of the Circle of Suabia, was secretly taken into his pay. The venal were gained by presents; the objections of the more scrupulous were answered or eluded; some feeble princes were threatened and overawed.

On the other hand, Francis supported his claim with equal eagerness, and no less confidence of its being well founded. His emissaries contended that it was now high time to convince the princes of the house of Austria, that the imperial crown was elective and not hereditary; that other persons might aspire to an honour which their arrogance had accustomed them to regard as the property of their family; that it required a sovereign of mature judgment, and of approved abilities, to hold the reins of government in a country where such unknown opinions concerning religion had been published, as had thrown the minds of men into an uncommon agitation, which threatened the most violent effects. But while the French ambassadors enlarged upon these and other topics of the same kind in all the courts of Germany, Francis, sensible of the prejudices entertained against him as a foreigner, unacquainted with the German language or manners, endeavoured to overcome these, and to gain the favour of the princes by immense gifts and by infinite promises. As the expeditious method of transmitting money, and the decent mode of conveying a bribe, by bills of exchange, were then little known, the French ambassadors travelled with a train of

horses loaded with treasure, an equipage not very honourable for that prince by whom they were employed, and infamous for those to whom they were sent.

The other European princes could not remain indifferent spectators of a contest the decision of which so nearly affected every one of them. Their common interest ought naturally to have formed a general combination in order to disappoint both competitors, and to prevent either of them from obtaining such a pre-eminence in power and dignity as might prove dangerous to the liberties of Europe. But the ideas with respect to a proper distribution and balance of power were so lately introduced into the system of European policy, that they were not hitherto objects of sufficient attention. The passions of some princes, the want of foresight in others, and the fear of giving offence to the candidates, hindered such a salutary union of the powers of Europe, and rendered them either totally negligent of the public safety, or kept them from exerting themselves with vigour in its behalf.

It was equally the interest and more in the power of Henry VIII. of England, than of any other monarch, to prevent either Francis or Charles from acquiring a dignity which would raise them so far above other monarchs. But though Henry often boasted that he held the balance of Europe in his hand, he had neither the steady attention, the accurate discernment, nor the dispassionate temper, which that delicate function required. On this occasion it mortified his vanity so much to think that he had not entered early into that noble competition which reflected such honour upon the two antagonists, that he took a resolution of sending an ambassador into Germany, and of declaring himself a candidate for the imperial throne. The ambassador, though loaded with caresses by the German princes and the pope's nuncio, informed his master that he could hope for no success in a claim which he had been so late in preferring. Henry imputing his dis-

appointment to that circumstance alone, and soothed with this ostentatious display of his own importance, seems to have taken no farther part in the matter, either by contributing to thwart both his rivals, or to promote one of them.

Leo X., a pontiff no less renowned for his political abilities than for his love of the arts, was the only prince of the age who observed the motions of the two contending monarchs with a prudent attention, or who discovered a proper solicitude for the public safety. The imperial and papal jurisdiction interfered in so many instances, the complaints of usurpation were so numerous on both sides, and the territories of the church owed their security so little to their own force, and so much to the weakness of the powers around them, that nothing was so formidable to the court of Rome as an emperor with extensive dominions or of enterprising genius. Leo trembled at the prospect of beholding the imperial crown placed on the head of the king of Spain and of Naples, and the master of the new world; nor was he less afraid of seeing a king of France, who was duke of Milan and lord of Genoa, exalted to that dignity. He foretold that the election of either of them would be fatal to the independence of the Holy See, to the peace of Italy, and perhaps to the liberties of Europe. But to oppose them with any prospect of success required address and caution in proportion to the greatness of their power, and their opportunities of taking revenge. Leo was defective in neither. He secretly exhorted the German princes to place one of their own number on the imperial throne, which many of them were capable of filling with honour. He put them in mind of the constitution by which the kings of Naples were for ever excluded from that dignity. He warmly exhorted the French king to persist in his claim, not from any desire that he should gain his end, but as he foresaw that the Germans would be more disposed to favour the king of Spain, he hoped that Francis



himself, when he discovered his own chance of success to be desperate, would be stimulated by resentment and the spirit of rivalry to concur with all his interest in raising some third person to the head of the empire; or, on the other hand, if Francis should make an unexpected progress, he did not doubt but that Charles would be induced by similar motives to act the same part; and thus, by a prudent attention, the mutual jealousy of the two rivals might be so dexterously managed as to disappoint both. But this scheme, the only one which a prince in Leo's situation could adopt, though concerted with great wisdom, was executed with little discretion. The French ambassadors in Germany fed their master with vain hopes; the pope's nuncio being gained by them, altogether forgot the instructions which he had received; and Francis persevered so long and with such obstinacy in urging his own pretensions, as rendered all Leo's measures abortive.

Such were the hopes of the candidates, and the views of the different princes, when the diet was opened according to form at Frankfort. The right of choosing an emperor had long been vested in seven great princes distinguished by the name of electors, the origin of whose office, as well as the nature and extent of their powers, have already been explained. These were at that time Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mentz; Herman, count de Wied, archbishop of Cologne; Richard de Greiffenklau, archbishop of Triers; Lewis, king of Bohemia; Lewis, count Palatine of the Rhine; Frederic, duke of Saxony; and Joachim I. marquis of Brandenburg. Notwithstanding the artful arguments produced by the ambassadors of the two kings in favour of their respective masters, and in spite of all their solicitations, intrigues, and presents, the electors did not forget that maxim on which the liberty of the German constitution was thought to be founded. Among the members of the Germanic body, which is a great republic composed of states almost independent, th-

first principle of patriotism is to depress and limit the power of the emperor; and of this idea, so natural under such a form of government, a German politician seldom loses sight. To elect either of the contending monarchs would have been a gross violation of that salutary maxim; would have given to the empire a master instead of a head; and would have reduced themselves from the rank of being almost his equals to the condition of his subjects.

Full of these ideas, all the electors turned their eyes towards Frederic, duke of Saxony, a prince of such eminent virtue and abilities as to be distinguished by the name of the *Sage*, and with one voice they offered him the imperial crown. He was not dazzled with that object which monarchs so far superior to him in power courted with such eagerness, and after deliberating upon the matter a short time, he rejected it with a magnanimity and disinterestedness no less singular than admirable. 'Nothing,' he observed, 'could be more impolitic than an obstinate adherence to a maxim which, though sound and just in many cases, was not applicable to all. In times of tranquillity,' said he, 'we wish for an emperor who has not power to invade our liberties; times of danger demand one who is able to secure our safety. The Turkish armies, led by a gallant and victorious monarch, are now assembling.\* They are ready to pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. The imperial sceptre must be committed to some hand more powerful than mine, or that of any other German prince. We possess neither dominions, nor revenues, nor authority, which enable us to encounter such a formidable enemy. Recourse must be had in this exigency to one of the

\* The conquests of Sultan Selim II. had spread a general and well-founded alarm over Europe; by his victories over the Mamelukes, he had not only added Egypt and Syria to his empire, but had also secured to it such a degree of internal tranquillity that he was now ready to turn against Christendom the whole force of his arms, which nothing had hitherto been able to withstand.

rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the field forces sufficient for our defence. But as the king of Spain is of German extraction ; as he is a member and prince of the empire by the territories which descend to him from his grandfather ; as his dominions stretch along that frontier which lies most exposed to the enemy—his claim is preferable, in my opinion, to that of a stranger to our language, to our blood, and to our country ; and therefore I give my vote to confer on him the imperial crown.’

This opinion, dictated by such uncommon generosity and supported by arguments so plausible, made a deep impression on the electors. The king of Spain’s ambassadors, sensible of the important service which Frederic had done their master, sent him a considerable sum of money, as the first token of that prince’s gratitude. But he who had greatness of mind to refuse a crown, disdained to receive a bribe ; and upon their entreating that at least he would permit them to distribute part of that sum among his attendants, he replied that he could not prevent them from accepting what should be offered, but whoever took a single florin should be dismissed next morning from his service.

No prince in Germany could now aspire to a dignity which Frederic had declined for reasons applicable to them all. It only remained to make a choice between the two great competitors.

On the twenty-eighth of June, five months and ten days after the death of Maximilian, this important contest, which had held all Europe in suspense, was decided. Six of the electors had already declared for the king of Spain ; and the archbishop of Triers, the only firm adherent to the French interest, having at last joined his brethren, Charles was, by the unanimous voice of the electoral college, raised to the imperial throne.

But though the electors consented, from various motives, to promote Charles to that high station, they discovered at the same time great jealousy of

his extraordinary power, and endeavoured, with the utmost solicitude, to provide against his encroaching on the privileges of the Germanic body. It had long been the custom to demand of every new emperor a confirmation of these privileges, and to require a promise that he never would violate them in any instance. While princes who were formidable neither from extent of territory nor of genius possessed the imperial throne, a general and verbal engagement to this purpose was deemed sufficient security. But under an emperor so powerful as Charles, other precautions seemed necessary. A *Capitulation* or claim of right was formed, in which the privileges and immunities of the electors, of the princes of the empire, of the cities, and of every other member of the Germanic body, are enumerated. This capitulation was immediately signed by Charles's ambassadors in the name of their master, and he himself, at his coronation, confirmed it in the most solemn manner. Since that period the electors have continued to prescribe the same conditions to all his successors; and the capitulation, or mutual contract between the emperor and his subjects, is considered in Germany as a strong barrier against the progress of the imperial power, and as the great charter of their liberties, to which they often appeal.

The important intelligence of his election was conveyed in nine days from Frankfort to Barcelona, where Charles was still detained by the obstinacy of the Catalonian cortes, which had not hitherto brought to an issue any of the affairs which came before it. He received the account with the joy natural to a young and aspiring mind, on an accession of power and dignity which raised him so far above the other princes of Europe. Then it was that those vast prospects which allured him during his whole administration began to open, and from this era we may date the formation, and are able to trace the gradual progress, of a grand system of enterprising



ambition, which renders the history of his reign so worthy of attention.

A trivial circumstance first discovered the effects of this great elevation upon the mind of Charles. In all the public writs which he now issued as King of Spain, he assumed the title of *majesty*, and required it from his subjects as a mark of their respect. Before that time all the monarchs of Europe were satisfied with the appellation of *Highness* or *Grace*: but the vanity of other courts soon led them to imitate the example of the Spanish. The epithet of *majesty* is no longer a mark of pre-eminence. The most inconsiderable monarchs in Europe enjoy it, and the arrogance of greater potentates has invented no higher denomination.

The Spaniards were far from viewing the promotion of their king to the imperial throne with the same satisfaction which he himself felt. To be deprived of the presence of their sovereign, and to be subjected to the government of a viceroy and his council, a species of administration often oppressive and always disagreeable, were the immediate and necessary consequences of this new dignity. But Charles, without regarding the sentiments or murmurs of his Spanish subjects, accepted of the imperial dignity, which the count palatine, at the head of a solemn embassy, offered him in the name of the electors; and declared his intention of setting out soon for Germany, in order to take possession of it. This was the more necessary, because, according to the forms of the German constitution, he could not, before the ceremony of a public coronation, exercise any act of jurisdiction or authority.

Their certain knowledge of this resolution augmented so much the disgust of the Spaniards, that a sullen and refractory spirit prevailed among persons of all ranks. The pope having granted the king the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices in Castile, to assist him in carrying on war with greater vigour against the Turks, a convocation of the clergy

unanimously refused to levy that sum, upon pretence that it ought never to be exacted but at those times when Christendom was actually invaded by the infidels; and though Leo, in order to support his authority, laid the kingdom under an interdict, so little regard was paid to a censure which was universally deemed unjust, that Charles himself applied to have it taken off. Thus the Spanish clergy, besides their merit in opposing the usurpations of the pope, and disregarding the influence of the crown, gained the exemption which they claimed.

The commotions which arose in the kingdom of Valencia, annexed to the crown of Aragon, were more formidable, and produced more dangerous and lasting effects. A seditious monk having by his sermons excited the citizens of Valencia, the capital city, to take arms, and to punish certain criminals in a tumultuary manner, the people, pleased with this exercise of power, and with such a discovery of their own importance, not only refused to lay down their arms, but formed themselves into troops and companies, that they might be regularly trained to martial exercises. To obtain some security against the oppression of the grandees was the motive of this association, and proved a powerful bond of union: for as the aristocratical privileges and independence were more complete in Valencia than in any other of the Spanish kingdoms, the nobles, being scarcely accountable for their conduct to any superior, treated the people not only as vassals but as slaves. They were alarmed, however, at the progress of this unexpected insurrection, as it might encourage the people to attempt shaking off the yoke altogether; but as they could not repress them without taking arms, it became necessary to have recourse to the emperor, and to desire his permission to attack them. At the same time the people made choice of deputies to represent their grievances, and to implore the protection of their sovereign. Happily for the latter they arrived at court when Charles was exasperated

to a high degree against the nobility. As he was eager to visit Germany, where his presence became every day more necessary, and as his Flemish courtiers were still more impatient to return into their native country, that they might carry thither the spoils which they had amassed in Castile, it was impossible for him to hold the cortes of Valencia in person. He had for that reason empowered the cardinal Adrian to represent him in that assembly, and in his name to receive their oath of allegiance, to confirm their privileges with the usual solemnities, and to demand of them a free gift. But the Valencian nobles, who considered this measure as an indignity to their country, which was no less entitled than his other kingdoms to the honour of their sovereign's presence, declared that by the fundamental laws of the constitution they could neither acknowledge as king a person who was absent, nor grant him any subsidy; and to this declaration they adhered with a haughty and inflexible obstinacy. Charles, piqued by their behaviour, decided in favour of the people, and rashly authorized them to continue in arms. Their deputies returned in triumph, and were received by their fellow-citizens as the deliverers of their country. The insolence of the multitude increasing with their success, they expelled all the nobles out of the city, committed the government to magistrates of their own election, and entered into an association distinguished by the name of *Germanada* or *Brotherhood*, which proved the source not only of the wildest disorders but of the most fatal calamities in that kingdom.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Castile was agitated with no less violence. No sooner was the emperor's intention to leave Spain made known, than several cities of the first rank resolved to remonstrate against it, and to crave redress once more of those grievances which they had formerly laid before him. Charles artfully avoided admitting their deputies to audience; and as he saw from this circumstance how difficult it

would be, at this juncture, to restrain the mutinous spirit of the greater cities, he summoned the Cortes of Castile to meet at Compostella, a town in Galicia. His only reason for calling that assembly, was the hope of obtaining another donative; for as his treasury had been exhausted in the same proportion that the riches of his ministers increased, he could not without some additional aid appear in Germany with splendour suited to the imperial dignity. To appoint a meeting of the cortes in so remote a province, and to demand a new subsidy before the time for paying the former was expired, were innovations of a most dangerous tendency; and among a people not only jealous of their liberties, but accustomed to supply the wants of their sovereigns with a very frugal hand, excited an universal alarm. The magistrates of Toledo remonstrated against both these measures in a very high tone; the inhabitants of Valladolid, who expected that the cortes should have been held in that city, were so enraged that they took arms in a tumultuary manner; and if Charles, with his foreign counsellors, had not fortunately made their escape during a violent tempest, they would have massacred all the Flemings, and have prevented him from continuing his journey towards Compostella.

Every city through which he passed petitioned against holding a cortes in Galicia, a point with regard to which Charles was inflexible. But though the utmost influence had been exerted by the ministers in order to procure a choice of representatives favourable to their designs, such was the temper of the nation, that at the opening of the assembly there appeared among many of the members unusual symptoms of ill-humour, which threatened a fierce opposition to all the measures of the court. All the arts, however, which influence popular assemblies, bribes, promises, threats, and even force, were employed in order to gain members. The nobles, soothed by the respectful assiduity with which Chievres and the



other Flemings paid court to them, or instigated by mean jealousy of that spirit of independence which they saw rising among the commons, openly favoured the pretensions of the court, or at the utmost did not oppose them; and at last, in contempt not only of the sentiments of the nation but of the ancient forms of the constitution, a majority voted to grant the donative for which the emperor had applied. Together with this grant the cortes laid before Charles a representation of those grievances whereof his people complained, and in their name craved redress; but he, having obtained from them all that he could expect, paid no attention to this ill-timed petition, which it was no longer dangerous to disregard.

As nothing now retarded his embarkation, he disclosed his intention with regard to the regency of Castile during his absence, which he had hitherto kept secret, and nominated cardinal Adrian to that office. The viceroyalty of Aragon he conferred on Don John de Lanuza; that of Valencia on Don Diego de Mendoza Condé de Melito. The choice of the two latter was universally acceptable; but the advancement of Adrian, though the only Fleming who had preserved any reputation among the Spaniards, animated the Castilians with new hatred against foreigners; and even the nobles, who had so tamely suffered other inroads upon the constitution, felt the indignity offered to their own order by his promotion, and remonstrated against it as illegal. But Charles's first desire of visiting Germany, as well as the impatience of his ministers to leave Spain, were now so much increased, that without attending to the murmurs of the Castilians, or even taking time to provide any remedy against an insurrection in Toledo, which at that time threatened and afterwards produced most formidable effects, he sailed from Corunna on the 22d of May; and by setting out so abruptly in quest of a new crown, he endangered a more important one of which he was already in possession.

## BOOK II.

MANY concurring circumstances not only called Charles's thoughts towards the affairs of Germany, but rendered his presence in that country necessary. The electors grew impatient of so long an interregnum; his hereditary dominions were disturbed by intestine commotions; and the new opinions concerning religion made such rapid progress as required the most serious consideration. But above all, the motions of the French king drew his attention, and convinced him that it was necessary to take measures for his own defence with no less speed than vigour.

When Charles and Francis entered the lists as candidates for the imperial dignity, they conducted their rivalry with many professions of regard for each other, and with repeated declarations that they would not suffer any tincture of enmity to mingle itself with this honourable emulation. 'We both court the same mistress,' said Francis, with his usual vivacity; 'each ought to urge his suit with all the address of which he is master; the most fortunate will prevail, and the other must rest contented.' But though two young and high-spirited princes, and each of them animated with the hope of success, might be capable of forming such a generous resolution, it was soon found that they presumed upon a moderation too refined and disinterested for human nature. The preference given to Charles in the sight of all Europe mortified Francis extremely, and inspired him with all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. To this was owing the personal jealousy and rivalry which subsisted between the two monarchs during their whole reign; and the rancour of these, augmented by a real opposition of interest, which gave rise to many unavoidable causes of discord, involved them in almost perpetual hostilities.

The chief attention both of Charles and of Francis

was employed in order to gain the king of England, from whom each of them expected assistance more effectual than any other power could give. Henry VIII. had ascended the throne of that kingdom in the year 1509, with such circumstances of advantage as promised a reign of distinguished felicity and splendour. The union in his person of the two contending titles of York and Lancaster, the alacrity and emulation with which both factions obeyed his commands, not only enabled him to exert a degree of vigour and authority in his domestic government which none of his predecessors could have safely assumed, but permitted him to take a share in the affairs of the continent, from which the attention of the English had long been diverted by their unhappy intestine divisions. Henry's own temper perfectly suited the state of his kingdom and the disposition of his subjects. Ambitious, active, enterprising, and accomplished in all the martial exercises which in that age formed a chief part in the education of persons of noble birth, and inspired them with an early love of war, he longed to engage in action, and to signalize the beginning of his reign by some remarkable exploit. An opportunity soon presented itself; and the victory at Guinegate, together with the successful sieges of Teroüenne and Tournay, though of little utility to England, reflected great lustre on its monarch, and confirmed the idea which foreign princes entertained of his power and consequence. So many concurring causes, added to the happy situation of his own dominions, which secured them from foreign invasion, and to the fortunate circumstance of his being in possession of Calais, which served not only as a key to France, but opened an easy passage into the Netherlands, rendered the king of England the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe, and the arbiter between the emperor and the French monarch. Henry himself was sensible of this singular advantage, and convinced that, in order to preserve the balance even, it

was his office to prevent either of the rivals from acquiring such superiority of power as might be fatal to the other, or formidable to the rest of Christendom. But he was destitute of the penetration, and still more of the temper, which such a delicate function required. Influenced by caprice by vanity, by resentment, by affection, he was incapable of forming any regular and extensive system of policy, or of adhering to it with steadiness.

All the impolitic steps in Henry's administration must not, however, be imputed to defects in his own character; many of them were owing to the violent passions and insatiable ambition of his prime minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey. This man, from one of the lowest ranks in life, had risen to a height of power and dignity to which no English subject ever arrived; and governed the haughty, presumptuous, and intractable spirit of Henry with absolute authority. Wolsey was far from employing this vast and almost royal power to promote either the true interest of the nation or the real grandeur of his master. Rapacious at the same time and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth. Of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success; and being rendered presumptuous by his uncommon elevation, as well as by the ascendant which he had gained over a prince who scarcely brooked advice from any other person, he discovered in his whole demeanour the most overbearing haughtiness and pride. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration, and whoever endeavoured to obtain his favour or that of his master, found it necessary to soothe and to gratify them.

As all the states of Europe sought Henry's friendship at that time, all courted his minister with incredible attention and obsequiousness, and strove by presents, by promises, or by flattery, to work upon his avarice, his ambition, or his pride. Francis had,



in the year 1518, employed Bonnivet, admiral of France, one of his most accomplished and artful courtiers, to gain this haughty prelate. He himself bestowed on him every mark of respect and confidence. He consulted him with regard to his most important affairs, and received his responses with implicit deference. By these arts, together with the grant of a large pension, Francis attached the cardinal to his interest, who persuaded his master to surrender Tournay to France, to conclude a treaty of marriage between his daughter the princess Mary and the dauphin, and to consent to a personal interview with the French king. From that time the most familiar intercourse subsisted between the two courts; Francis, sensible of the great value of Wolsey's friendship, laboured to secure the continuance of it by every possible expression of regard, bestowing on him, in all his letters, the honourable appellations of father, tutor, and governor.

Charles observed the progress of this union with the utmost jealousy and concern. His near affinity to the king of England gave him some title to his friendship; and soon after his accession to the throne of Castile, he had attempted to ingratiate himself with Wolsey, by settling on him a pension of 3000 livres. His chief solicitude at present was to prevent the intended interview with Francis, the effects of which upon two young princes whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were capable of inspiring it, he extremely dreaded. But after many delays, occasioned by difficulties with respect to the ceremonial, and by the anxious precautions of both courts for the safety of their respective sovereigns, the time and place of meeting were at last fixed. Charles, finding it impossible to prevent the interview, endeavoured to disappoint its effects, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch and his minister by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Having sailed from Corunna, as has already been related,

he steered his course directly towards England, and relying wholly on Henry's generosity for his own safety, landed at Dover. This unexpected visit surprised the nation. Wolsey, however, was well acquainted with the emperor's intention. A negotiation, unknown to the historians of that age, had been carried on between him and the court of Spain; this visit had been concerted; and Charles granted the cardinal, whom he calls his *most dear friend*, an additional pension of 7000 ducats. Henry, who was then at Canterbury in his way to France, immediately despatched Wolsey to Dover in order to welcome the emperor; and being highly pleased with an event so soothing to his vanity, hastened to receive with suitable respect a guest who had placed in him such unbounded confidence. Charles, to whom time was precious, staid only four days in England; but during that short space he had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interest of the French king. All the grandeur, the wealth, and the power which the cardinal possessed did not satisfy his ambitious mind, while there was one step higher to which an ecclesiastic could ascend. The papal dignity had for some time been the object of his wishes, and Francis, as the most effectual method of securing his friendship, had promised to favour his pretensions, on the first vacancy, with all his interest. But as the emperor's influence in the college of cardinals was greatly superior to that of the French king, Wolsey grasped eagerly at the offer which that artful prince had made him, of exerting it vigorously in his behalf; and allured by this prospect, which, under the pontificate of Leo, still in the prime of his life, was a very distant one, he entered with warmth into all the emperor's schemes. No treaty, however, was concluded at that time between the two monarchs; but Henry, in return for the honour which Charles had done him, promised to visit him in some place of

the Low Countries, immediately after taking leave of the French king.

His interview with that prince was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*. Feats of chivalry, parties of gallantry, together with such exercises and pastimes as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied both courts during eighteen days that they continued together. Whatever impression the engaging manners of Francis, or the liberal and unsuspecting confidence with which he treated Henry, made on the mind of that monarch, was soon effaced by Wolsey's artifices, or by an interview he had with the emperor at Gravelines; which was conducted with less pomp than that near Guisnes, but with greater attention to what might be of political utility.

Charles, notwithstanding his partial fondness for the Netherlands, the place of his nativity, made no long stay there; and after receiving the homage and congratulations of his countrymen, hastened to Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed by the golden bull for the coronation of the emperor. There, in presence of an assembly more numerous and splendid than had appeared on any former occasion, the crown of Charleuagne was placed on his head, with all the pompous solemnity which the Germans affect in their public ceremonies, and which they deem essential to the dignity of their empire.

Almost at the same time Solyman the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and victorious of the Turkish sultans, a constant and formidable rival to the emperor, ascended the Ottoman throne. It was the peculiar glory of that period to produce the most illustrious monarchs who have at any one time appeared in Europe. Leo, Charles, Francis, Henry, and Solyman, were each of

them possessed of talents which might have rendered any age wherein they happened to flourish conspicuous. But such a constellation of great princes shed uncommon lustre on the sixteenth century.

The first act of the emperor's administration was to appoint a diet of the empire to be held at Worms on the 6th of January, 1521. In his circular letters to the different princes, he informed them that he had called this assembly in order to concert with them the most proper measures for checking the progress of those new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.

Charles had in view the opinions which had been propagated by Luther and his disciples since the year 1517. As these led to that happy reformation in religion which rescued one part of Europe from the papal yoke, mitigated its rigour in the other, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest as well as the most beneficial that has happened since the publication of Christianity, not only the events which at first gave birth to such opinions, but the causes which rendered their progress so rapid and successful, deserve an attentive consideration.

To overturn a system of religious belief founded on ancient and deep-rooted prejudices, supported by power, and defended with no less art than industry; to establish in its room doctrines of the most contrary genius and tendency; and to accomplish all this not by external violence or the force of arms, are operations which historians the least prone to credulity and superstition ascribe to that Divine Providence which, with infinite ease, can bring about events which to human sagacity appear impossible.

It was from causes seemingly fortuitous, and from a source very inconsiderable, that all the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed. Leo X. when raised to the papal throne found the revenues of the church exhausted by the vast projects of his two



ambitious predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. His own temper, naturally liberal and enterprising, rendered him incapable of that severe and patient economy which the situation of his finances required. On the contrary, his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medici, his love of splendour, his taste for pleasure, and his magnificence in rewarding men of genius, involved him daily in new expenses; in order to provide a fund for which, he tried every device that the fertile invention of priests had fallen upon to drain the credulous multitude of their wealth. Among others, he had recourse to a sale of *indulgences*. According to the doctrine of the Romish church, all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary towards their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were first invented in the eleventh century by Urban II., as a recompence for those who went in person upon the meritorious enterprise of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and in process of time were bestowed on such as gave money for accomplishing any pious work enjoined by the pope. Julius II. had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expensive fabric, his grant was founded on the same pretence.\*

\* As the form of these indulgences, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are unknown in Protestant countries, and little understood, at present, in several places where the Roman Catholic religion is established, I have, for the information of my readers,

The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany, together with a share in the profits arising from the sale of them, was granted to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, who, as his chief agent for retailing them in Saxony, employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar, of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence. He, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but with little discretion or decency; and though, by magnifying excessively the benefit of their indulgences, and by disposing of them at a very low price, they carried on for some time an extensive and lucrative traffic among the credulous and the ignorant, the extravagance of their assertions, as well as the irregularities in their conduct, came at last to give general offence. The princes and nobles were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth, in order to replenish the treasury of a profuse pontiff. Men of piety regretted the delusion of the people, who being taught to rely for the pardon of their sins on the indulgences which they purchased, did not think it incumbent on them either to study the doctrines taught by genuine Christianity, or to practise the duties which it enjoins. Even the most unthinking were shocked at the scandalous behaviour of Tetzel and his associates, who often squandered in drunkenness, gaming, and low debauchery, those sums which were piously

translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel: 'May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

bestowed in hopes of obtaining eternal happiness : and all began to wish that some check were given to this commerce, no less detrimental to society than destructive to religion.\*

Such was the favourable juncture, and so disposed were the minds of his countrymen to listen to his discourses, when Martin Luther first began to call in question the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and false doctrines of the persons employed in promulgating them. Luther was a native of Eisleben in Saxony, and though born of poor parents, had received a learned education, during the progress of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteness of genius. His mind was naturally susceptible of serious sentiments, and tinctured with somewhat of that religious melancholy which delights in the solitude and devotion of a monastic life. The death of a companion killed by lightning at his side in a violent thunder-storm, made such an impression on his mind as co-operated with his natural temper in inducing him to retire into a convent of Augustinian friars, where, without suffering the entreaties of his parents to divert him from what he thought his duty to God, he assumed the habit of that order. He soon acquired great reputation, not only for piety, but for his love of knowledge and his unwearied application to study. He had been taught the scholastic philosophy and

\* The terms in which Tetzels and his associates described the benefits of indulgences, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost incredible. 'If any man (said they) purchase letters of indulgence, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in purgatory for whose redemption indulgences are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment and ascend into heaven. That the efficacy of indulgences was so great, that the most heinous sins would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt: that this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself: that the cross erected by the preachers of indulgences was as efficacious as the cross of Christ itself. Lo! the heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of purgatory; and are you so ungrateful, that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat you ought to strip yourself instantly, and sell it in order to purchase such benefits,' &c.

theology which were then in vogue by very able masters, and wanted not penetration to comprehend all the niceties and distinctions with which they abound; but his understanding, naturally sound, and superior to every thing frivolous, soon became disgusted with those subtile and uninformative sciences, and sought for some more solid foundation of knowledge and of piety in the Holy Scriptures. Having found a copy of the Bible which lay neglected in the library of his monastery, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of it with such eagerness and assiduity as astonished the monks, who were little accustomed to derive their theological notions from that source. The great progress which he made in this uncommon course of study augmented so much the fame both of his sanctity and of his learning, that Frederic, elector of Saxony, having founded an university at Wittemberg on the Elbe, the place of his residence, Luther was chosen first to teach philosophy and afterwards theology there, and discharged both offices in such a manner that he was deemed the chief ornament of that society.

While Luther was at the height of his reputation and authority, Tetzel began to publish indulgences in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, and to ascribe to them the same imaginary virtues which had in other places imposed on the credulity of the people. As Saxony was not more enlightened than the other provinces of Germany, Tetzel met with prodigious success there. It was with the utmost concern that Luther beheld the artifices of those who sold and the simplicity of those who bought indulgences. The opinions of Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded, had already lost much of their authority with him; and the Scriptures, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and of morals. His warm and



impetuous temper did not suffer him long to conceal such important discoveries, or to continue a silent spectator of the delusion of his countrymen. From the pulpit in the great church of Wittemberg, he inveighed bitterly against the irregularities and vices of the monks who published indulgences; he ventured to examine the doctrines which they taught, and pointed out to the people the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God in his word. The boldness and novelty of these opinions drew great attention, and being recommended by the authority of Luther's personal character, and delivered with a popular and persuasive eloquence, they made a deep impression on his hearers. Encouraged by the favourable reception of his doctrines among the people, he wrote to Albert, elector of Metz and archbishop of Magdeburg, to whose jurisdiction that part of Saxony was subject, and remonstrated warmly against the false opinions as well as wicked lives of the preachers of indulgences; but he found that prelate too deeply interested in their success to correct their abuses. His next attempt was to gain the suffrage of men of learning. For this purpose he published ninety-five theses, containing his sentiments with regard to indulgences. These he proposed not as points fully established, or of undoubted certainty, but as subjects of inquiry and disputation; he appointed a day on which the learned were invited to impugn them, either in person or by writing; to the whole he subjoined solemn protestations of his high respect for the apostolic see, and of his implicit submission to its authority. No opponent appeared at the time prefixed; the theses spread over Germany with astonishing rapidity; they were read with the greatest eagerness; and all admired the boldness of the man who had ventured not only to call in question the plenitude of papal power, but to attack the Dominicans, armed with all the terrors of inquisitorial authority.

Meanwhile, these novelties in Luther's doctrines which interested all Germany, excited little attention and no alarm in the court of Rome. Leo, fond of elegant and refined pleasures, intent upon great schemes of policy, a stranger to theological controversies, and apt to despise them, regarded with the utmost indifference the operations of an obscure friar, who, in the heart of Germany, carried on a scholastic disputation in a barbarous style.

At length however the solicitations of Luther's adversaries, and the surprising progress which his opinions made, roused the attention of the court of Rome, and Leo summoned Luther to appear before him within sixty days; but upon the earnest solicitations of the elector of Saxony and of Luther himself, both of whom were exceedingly desirous to have the cause tried in Germany, Leo empowered his legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican eminent for scholastic learning and for his devotion to the Roman see, to hear and determine the cause. The cardinal attempted to argue the points in dispute with Luther, but as he appealed to papal decrees, and the opinions of schoolmen, while Luther rested only on the Scriptures, the contest was altogether fruitless: he therefore assumed the character of a judge, and called on Luther to retract his errors and to abstain from publishing his opinions. The Reformer, however, refused to do either, declaring that he could not with a safe conscience renounce opinions which he believed to be true. The cardinal threatened him with the heaviest ecclesiastical censures, and forbid him to appear again in his presence till he was prepared to comply with what he had required. This haughty and violent manner of proceeding, as well as other circumstances, gave Luther's friends such strong reasons to suspect that even the imperial safe-conduct, which he had received, would not be able to protect him from the legate's power and resentment, that they prevailed on him to withdraw secretly from Augsburg, and to return to his own country.

Cajetan, enraged at Luther's abrupt retreat, and at the publication of his appeal, wrote to the elector of Saxony complaining of both, and requiring him, as he regarded the peace of the church or the authority of its head, either to send that seditious monk a prisoner to Rome, or to banish him out of his territories. It was not from theological considerations that Frederic had hitherto countenanced Luther; he seems to have been much a stranger to controversies of that kind, and to have been little interested in them. His protection flowed almost entirely from political motives, and was afforded with great secrecy and caution. He had neither heard any of Luther's discourses nor read any of his books; and though all Germany resounded with his fame, he had never once admitted him into his presence. But upon this demand which the cardinal made, it became necessary to throw off somewhat of his former reserve. He had been at great expense, and had bestowed much attention on founding a new university, an object of considerable importance to every German prince; and foreseeing how fatal a blow the removal of Luther would be to its reputation, he, under various pretexts, and with many professions of esteem for the cardinal as well as of reverence for the pope, not only declined complying with either of his requests, but openly discovered great concern for Luther's safety.

Luther's situation, at this time, was such as would have filled any other person with the most disquieting apprehensions. He could not expect that a prince so prudent and cautious as Frederic would, on his account, set at defiance the thunders of the church, and brave the papal power, which had crushed some of the most powerful of the German emperors. He knew what veneration was paid in that age to ecclesiastical decisions, what terrors ecclesiastical censures carried along with them, and how easily these might intimidate and shake a prince who was rather his protector from policy than his disciple

from conviction. If he should be obliged to quit Saxony, he had no prospect of any other asylum, and must stand exposed to whatever punishment the rage or bigotry of his enemies could inflict. Though sensible of his danger, he discovered no symptoms of timidity, or remissness, but continued to vindicate his own conduct and opinions, and to inveigh against those of his adversaries, with more vehemence than ever.

But as every step taken by the court of Rome, particularly the irregular sentence by which he had been so precipitately declared a heretic, convinced Luther that Leo would soon proceed to the most violent measures against him, he had recourse to the only expedient in his power in order to prevent the effect of the papal censures. He appealed to a general council, which he affirmed to be the representative of the catholic church, and superior in power to the pope, who being a fallible man might err, as St. Peter, the most perfect of his predecessors, had erred.

It soon appeared that Luther had not formed rash conjectures concerning the intentions of the Romish church. A bull of a date prior to his appeal was issued by the pope, in which he magnifies the virtue and efficacy of indulgences in terms as extravagant as any of his predecessors had ventured to use in the darkest ages; and without applying such palliatives or mentioning such concessions as a more enlightened period, and the disposition in the minds of many men at that juncture, seemed to call for, he required all Christians to assent to what he delivered as the doctrine of the catholic church, and subjected those who should hold or teach any contrary opinion to the heaviest ecclesiastical censures.

Among Luther's followers, this bull, which they considered as an unjustifiable effort of the pope in order to preserve that rich branch of his revenue which arose from indulgences, produced little effect. But among the rest of his countrymen, such a clear de-



cision of the sovereign pontiff against him, and enforced by such dreadful penalties, must have been attended with consequences very fatal to his cause, if these had not been prevented in a great measure by the death of the emperor Maximilian, whom both his principles and his interests prompted to support the authority of the holy see. In consequence of this event, the vicariat of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws, devolved to the elector of Saxony; and under the shelter of his friendly administration, Luther not only enjoyed tranquillity, but his opinions were suffered, during the interregnum which preceded Charles's election, to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. At the same time, as the election of an emperor was a point more interesting to Leo than a theological controversy which he did not understand, and of which he could not foresee the consequences, he was so extremely solicitous not to irritate a prince of such considerable influence in the electoral college as Frederic, that he discovered a great unwillingness to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against Luther, which his adversaries continually demanded with the most clamorous importunity.

To these political views of the pope, as well as to his natural aversion from severe measures, was owing the suspension of any farther proceedings against Luther for eighteen months. Perpetual negotiations, however, in order to bring the matter to some amicable issue, were carried on during that space. The manner in which these were conducted having given Luther many opportunities of observing the corruption of the court of Rome, its obstinacy in adhering to established errors, and its indifference about truth, however clearly proposed, or strongly proved, he began to utter some doubts with regard to the divine original of the papal authority. A public disputation was held upon this important question at Leipsic, between Luther and Eccius, one of his most

learned and formidable antagonists ; but it was as fruitless and indecisive as such scholastic combats usually prove. Both parties boasted of having obtained the victory ; both were confirmed in their own opinions ; and no progress was made towards deciding the point in controversy.

In the mean time, Zuinglius, a man not inferior to Luther himself in zeal and intrepidity, ventured to oppose the sale of indulgences at Zurich ; and being animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince imposed on the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion. The appearance of such a vigorous auxiliary, and the progress which he made, was, at first, matter of great joy to Luther. On the other hand, the decrees of the universities of Cologne and Louvain, which pronounced his opinions to be erroneous, afforded great cause of triumph to his adversaries.

But the undaunted spirit of Luther acquired additional fortitude from every instance of opposition, and pushing on his inquiries and attacks from one doctrine to another, he began to shake the firmest foundations on which the wealth or power of the church was established. Leo came at last to be convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were vain ; several prelates of great wisdom exclaimed no less than Luther's personal adversaries against the pope's unprecedented lenity in permitting an incorrigible heretic, who during three years had been endeavouring to subvert every thing sacred and venerable, still to remain within the bosom of the church ; the dignity of the papal see rendered the most vigorous proceedings necessary ; the new emperor, it was hoped, would support its authority ; nor did it seem probable that the elector of Saxony would so far forget his usual caution as to set himself in opposition to their united power. The college of cardinals was often assembled, in order to

prepare the sentence with due deliberation, and the ablest canonists were consulted how it might be expressed with unexceptionable formality. At last, on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull so fatal to the church of Rome was issued. Forty-one propositions extracted out of Luther's works are therein condemned as heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; all persons are forbidden to read his writings upon pain of excommunication; such as had any of them in their custody were commanded to commit them to the flames; he himself, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors, and burn his books, is pronounced an obstinate heretic; is excommunicated and delivered unto Satan for the destruction of his flesh; and all secular princes are required, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, that he might be punished as his crimes deserved.

The publication of this bull in Germany excited various passions in different places. Luther's adversaries exulted as if his party and opinions had been crushed at once by such a decisive blow. His followers, whose reverence for the papal authority daily diminished, read Leo's anathemas with more indignation than terror. In some cities the people violently obstructed the promulgation of the bull; in others, the persons who attempted to publish it were insulted, and the bull itself was torn in pieces and trodden under foot.

This sentence, which he had for some time expected, did not disconcert or intimidate Luther. After renewing his appeal to the general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication; and being now persuaded that Leo had been guilty both of impiety and injustice in his proceedings against him, he boldly declared the pope to be that man of sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the New Testament; and having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and om-

nipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, he published these with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil government.

Such was the progress which Luther had made, and such the state of his party, when Charles arrived in Germany. No secular prince had hitherto embraced Luther's opinions; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced; and no encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy: neither party had yet proceeded to action; and the controversy, though conducted with great heat and passion on both sides, was still carried on with its proper weapons, with theses, disputations, and replies. A deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered which kindled into the combustion that soon spread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the empire to Wittenberg; and under Luther himself, Melancthon, Carlostadius, and other masters then reckoned eminent, imbibed opinions, which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen, who listened to them with that fond attention which truth, when accompanied with novelty, naturally commands.

During the course of these transactions, the court of Rome, though under the direction of one of its ablest pontiffs, neither formed its schemes with that profound sagacity, nor executed them with that steady perseverance, which had long rendered it the most perfect model of political wisdom to the rest of Europe. Leo appeared to be fluctuating between two opposite systems, and by embracing them alternately, defeated the effects of both. By an improper exertion of authority, Luther was exasperated but not restrained. By a mistaken exercise of lenity



time was given for his opinions to spread, but no progress was made towards reconciling him to the church; and even the sentence of excommunication, which at another juncture might have been decisive, was delayed so long, that it became at last scarcely an object of terror.

Such capital errors in the measures of a court, seldom chargeable with mistaking its own true interest, is not more astonishing than the wisdom which appeared in Luther's conduct. Though a perfect stranger to the maxims of worldly wisdom, and incapable, from the impetuosity of his temper, of observing them, he was led naturally, by the method in which he made his discoveries, to carry on his operations in a manner which contributed more to their success than if every step he took had been prescribed by the most artful policy. The knowledge of truth was not poured into his mind all at once, but the progress was gradual; the doctrines of popery are so interwoven that the exposing of one error led him naturally to the detection of others, and at last to call in question the divine original of the papal power which supported such a system of errors. Had he begun with this grand attack on the papacy, his hearers would have been alarmed, but they were conducted gradually from one doctrine to another, and at last led to submit to the authority of the Scriptures in preference to that of the pope.

But whatever advantages Luther's cause derived either from the mistakes of his adversaries or from his own good conduct, the sudden progress and firm establishment of his doctrines must not be ascribed to these alone. The same corruptions in the church of Rome which he condemned, had been attacked long before his time. The same opinions which he now propagated, had been published in different places, and were supported by the same arguments. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth, had inveighed against the errors of popery with great boldness.

and confuted them with more ingenuity and learning than could have been expected in those illiterate ages in which they flourished. But all these premature attempts towards a reformation proved abortive. Such feeble lights, incapable of dispelling the darkness which then covered the church, were soon extinguished; and though the doctrines of these pious men produced some effects, and left some traces in the countries where they taught, they were neither extensive nor considerable. Many powerful causes contributed to facilitate Luther's progress, which either did not exist or did not operate with full force in their days; and at that critical and mature juncture when he appeared, circumstances of every kind concurred in rendering each step that he took successful.

The long and scandalous schism which divided the church during the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the papal dignity. Two or three contending pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time; fawning on the princes whom they wanted to gain; extorting large sums of money from the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them, discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The proceedings of the councils of Constance and Basil spread this disrespect for the Romish see still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority in deposing and electing popes, taught men that there was in the church a jurisdiction superior even to the papal power, which they had long believed to be supreme.

The wound given on that occasion to the papal authority was scarcely healed up when the pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II., both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastics, raised new scandal in Christendom. The profligate morals of

the former in private life; the fraud, the injustice, and cruelty of his public administration, place him on a level with those tyrants whose deeds are the greatest reproach to human nature. The latter, though a stranger to the odious passions which prompted his predecessor to commit so many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a restless and ungovernable ambition, that scorned all considerations of gratitude, of decency, or of justice, when they obstructed the execution of his schemes. It was hardly possible to be firmly persuaded, that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whose chief precepts are purity and humility, was deposited in the breast of the profligate Alexander or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of those who exalted the authority of a council above that of the pope, spread wonderfully under their pontificates; and as the emperor and French kings, who were alternately engaged in hostilities with those active pontiffs, permitted and even encouraged their subjects to expose their vices with all the violence of invective and all the petulance of ridicule, men's ears being accustomed to these were not shocked with the bold or ludicrous discourses of Luther and his followers concerning the papal dignity.

Nor were such excesses confined to the head of the church alone. Many of the dignified clergy, secular as well as regular, being the younger sons of noble families, who had assumed the ecclesiastical character for no other reason but that they found in the church stations of great dignity and affluence, were accustomed totally to neglect the duties of their office, and indulged themselves without reserve in all the vices to which great wealth and idleness naturally give birth.

This degeneracy of manners among the clergy might have been tolerated, perhaps, with greater indulgence, if their exorbitant riches and power had not enabled them, at the same time, to encroach on

the rights of every other order of men. It is the genius of superstition, fond of whatever is pompous or grand, to set no bounds to its liberality towards persons whom it esteems sacred, and to think its expressions of regard defective unless it hath raised them to the height of wealth and authority. Hence flowed the extensive revenues and jurisdiction possessed by the church in every country in Europe, and which were become intolerable to the laity, from whose undiscerning bounty they were at first derived.

Grievous, however, as the exorbitant wealth and numerous privileges of the clerical order were to the other members of the Germanic body, they would have reckoned it some mitigation of the evil if these had been possessed only by ecclesiastics residing among themselves, who would have been less apt to make an improper use of their riches, or to exercise their rights with unbecoming rigour. But the bishops of Rome having early put in a claim, the boldest that ever human ambition suggested, of being supreme and infallible heads of the Christian church; they, by their profound policy and unwearied perseverance, by their address in availing themselves of every circumstance which occurred, by taking advantage of the superstition of some princes, of the necessities of others, and of the credulity of the people, at length established their pretensions in opposition both to the interest and common sense of mankind. Germany was the country which these ecclesiastical sovereigns governed with most absolute authority. They excommunicated and deposed some of its most illustrious emperors, and excited their subjects, their ministers, and even their children, to take arms against them. Amidst these contests the popes continually extended their own immunities, spoiling the secular princes gradually of their most valuable prerogatives, and the German church felt all the rigour of that oppression which



flowed from subjection to foreign dominion and foreign exactions.

Memorials and remonstrances of the imperial diets, enumerating the grievances under which the empire groaned, were repeatedly presented to the papal court, in order to obtain the redress of them.

Dissatisfaction must have arisen to a great height among the people, when these grave assemblies expressed themselves with that degree of acrimony which abounds in their remonstrances; and if they demanded the abolition of these enormities with so much vehemence, the people, we may be assured, uttered their sentiments and desires in bolder and more virulent language.

To men thus prepared for shaking off the yoke, Luther addressed himself with certainty of success. As they had long felt its weight, and had borne it with impatience, they listened with joy to the first offer of procuring them deliverance. Hence proceeded the fond and eager reception that his doctrines met with, and the rapidity with which they spread over all the provinces of Germany.

Besides all these causes of Luther's rapid progress, arising from the nature of his enterprise, and the juncture at which he undertook it, he reaped advantage from some foreign and adventitious circumstances, the beneficial influence of which none of his forerunners in the same course had enjoyed. Among these may be reckoned the invention of the art of printing, about half a century before his time. By this fortunate discovery the facility of acquiring and of propagating knowledge was wonderfully increased, and Luther's books, which must otherwise have made their way slowly and with uncertainty into distant countries, spread at once all over Europe. Nor were they read only by the rich and the learned, who alone had access to books before that invention; they got into the hands of the people, who, upon this appeal to them as judges, ventured to examine and to reject many doctrines which

they had formerly been required to believe, without being taught to understand them.

The revival of learning at the same period was a circumstance extremely friendly to the Reformation. The study of the ancient Greek and Roman authors, by enlightening the human mind with liberal and sound knowledge, roused it from that profound lethargy in which it had been sunk during several centuries.

That bold spirit of inquiry which the revival of learning excited in Europe, was so favourable to the Reformation, that Luther was aided in his progress, and mankind were prepared to embrace his doctrines, by persons who did not wish success to his undertaking. The greater part of the ingenious men who applied to the study of ancient literature towards the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, though they had no intention, and perhaps no wish, to overturn the established system of religion, had discovered the absurdity of many tenets and practices authorized by the church, and perceived the futility of those arguments by which illiterate monks endeavoured to defend them. Their contempt of these advocates for the received errors led them frequently to expose the opinions which they supported, and to ridicule their ignorance with great freedom and severity. By this men were prepared for the more serious attacks made upon them by Luther, and their reverence both for the doctrines and persons against whom he inveighed was considerably abated. This was particularly the case in Germany. When the first attempts were made to revive a taste for ancient learning in that country, the ecclesiastics there, who were still more ignorant than their brethren on the other side of the Alps, set themselves to oppose its progress with more active zeal; and the patrons of the new studies in return attacked them with greater violence. In the writings of Reuchlin, Hutten, and the other revivers of learning

in Germany, the corruptions of the church of Rome are censured with an acrimony of style little inferior to that of Luther himself.

In this enumeration of the circumstances which combined in favouring the progress of Luther's opinions, or in weakening the resistance of his adversaries, I have avoided entering into any discussion of the theological doctrines of popery, and have not attempted to shew how repugnant they are to the spirit of Christianity, and how destitute of any foundation in reason, in the word of God, or in the practice of the primitive church, leaving those topics entirely to ecclesiastical historians, to whose province they peculiarly belong. But when we add the effect of these religious considerations to the influence of political causes, it is obvious that the united operation of both on the human mind must have been sudden and irresistible. Though to Luther's contemporaries, who were too near perhaps to the scene, or too deeply interested in it, to trace causes with accuracy or to examine them with coolness, the rapidity with which his opinions spread appeared to be so unaccountable, that some of them imputed it to a certain uncommon and malignant position of the stars, which scattered the spirit of giddiness and innovation over the world; it is evident that the success of the Reformation was the natural effect of many powerful causes prepared by peculiar providence, and happily conspiring to that end. This attempt to investigate these causes, and to throw light on an event so singular and important, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unnecessary digression. — I return from it to the course of the history.

The diet at Worms conducted its deliberations with that slow formality peculiar to such assemblies. Much time was spent in establishing some regulations with regard to the police of the empire; and the state of religion was then taken into consideration. There were not wanting some plausible reasons which might have induced Charles to have de

clared himself the protector of Luther's cause, or at least to have connived at its progress. If he had possessed no other dominions but those which belonged to him in Germany, and no other crown besides the imperial, he might have been disposed, perhaps, to favour a man who asserted so boldly the privileges and immunities for which the empire had struggled so long with the popes. But the vast and dangerous schemes which Francis I. was forming against Charles, made it necessary for him to regulate his conduct by views more extensive than those which would have suited a German prince; and it being of the utmost importance to secure the pope's friendship, this determined him to treat Luther with great severity, as the most effectual method of soothing Leo into a concurrence with his measures. His eagerness to accomplish this rendered him not unwilling to gratify the papal legates in Germany, who insisted that, without any delay or formal deliberation, the diet ought to condemn a man whom the pope had already excommunicated as an incorrigible heretic. Such an abrupt manner of proceeding, however, being deemed unprecedented and unjust by the members of the diet, they made a point of Luther's appearing in person, and declaring whether he adhered or not to those opinions which had drawn upon him the censures of the church. Not only the emperor, but all the princes through whose territories he had to pass, granted him a safe-conduct; and Charles wrote to him at the same time, requiring his immediate attendance on the diet, and renewing his promises of protection from any injury or violence. Luther did not hesitate one moment about yielding obedience, and set out for Worms, attended by the herald who had brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct.

The reception which he met with at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labours, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced.



At his appearance before the diet he behaved with great decency and with equal firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings, but refused to retract his opinions unless he were convinced of their falsehood, or to consent to their being tried by any other rule than the word of God. When neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution, some of the ecclesiastics proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, and by punishing the author of this pestilent heresy, who was now in their power, to deliver the church at once from such an evil. But the members of the diet refusing to expose the German integrity to fresh reproach by a second violation of public faith, and Charles being no less unwilling to bring a stain upon the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious action, Luther was permitted to depart in safety. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was published in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, depriving him, as an obstinate and excommunicated criminal, of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a subject of the empire, forbidding any prince to harbour or protect him, and requiring all to concur in seizing his person as soon as the term specified in his safe-conduct was expired.

But this rigorous decree had no considerable effect, the execution of it being prevented partly by the multiplicity of occupations which the commotions in Spain, together with the wars in Italy and the Low Countries, created to the emperor, and partly by a prudent precaution employed by the elector of Saxony, Luther's faithful and discerning patron. As Luther, on his return from Worms, was passing near Altenstein, in Thuringia, a number of horsemen in masks rushed suddenly out of a wood, where the elector had appointed them to lie in wait for him, and, surrounding his company, carried him, after dismissing all his attendants, to Wartburg, a strong castle not far distant. There the

elector ordered him to be supplied with every thing necessary or agreeable; but the place of his retreat was carefully concealed, until the fury of the present storm against him began to abate, upon a change in the political situation of Europe.

During his confinement, his opinions continued to gain ground, acquiring the ascendant in almost every city in Saxony. At this time the Augustinians of Wittemberg, with the approbation of the university and the connivance of the elector, ventured upon the first step towards an alteration in the established forms of public worship, by abolishing the celebration of private masses, and by giving the cup as well as the bread to the laity, in administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Whatever consolation the courage and success of his disciples, or the progress of his doctrines in his own country, afforded Luther in his retreat, he there received information of two events which considerably damped his joy, as they seemed to lay insuperable obstacles in the way of propagating his principles in the two most powerful kingdoms of Europe. One was a solemn decree condemning his opinions, published by the university of Paris, the most ancient, and, at that time, the most respectable of the learned societies in Europe. The other was the answer written to his book concerning the Babylonish captivity by Henry VIII. of England. The pope, to whom this book was presented with the greatest formality in full consistory, spoke of it in such terms as if it had been dictated by immediate inspiration; and, as a testimony of the gratitude of the church for his extraordinary zeal, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith*, an appellation which Henry soon forfeited in the opinion of those from whom he derived it, and which is still retained by his successors, though the avowed enemies of those opinions by contending for which he merited that honourable distinction. Luther, who was not overawed either by the authority of the university or

the dignity of the monarch, soon published his animadversions on both, in a style no less vehement and severe than he would have used in confuting his meanest antagonist. A controversy managed by disputants so illustrious drew universal attention; and such was the contagion of the spirit of innovation diffused through Europe in that age, and so powerful the evidence which accompanied the doctrines of the reformers on their first publication, that in spite both of the civil and ecclesiastical powers combined against them, they daily gained converts both in France and in England.

How desirous soever the emperor might be to put a stop to Luther's progress, he was often obliged, during the diet at Worms, to turn his thoughts to matters still more interesting, and which demanded more immediate attention. A war was ready to break out between him and the French king in Navarre, in the Low Countries, and in Italy; and it required either great address to avert the danger, or timely and wise precautions to resist it. Every circumstance, at that juncture, inclined Charles to prefer the former measure. Spain was torn with intestine commotions. In Italy he had not hitherto secured the assistance of any one ally. In the Low Countries his subjects trembled at the thoughts of a rupture with France, the fatal effects of which on their commerce they had often experienced. From these considerations, as well as from the solicitude of Chievres, during his whole administration, to maintain peace between the two monarchs, proceeded the emperor's backwardness to commence hostilities. But Francis and his ministers did not breathe the same pacific spirit. He easily foresaw that concord could not long subsist where interest, emulation, and ambition, conspired to dissolve it; and he possessed several advantages which flattered him with the hopes of surprising his rival, and of overpowering him before he could put himself in a posture of defence

The only princes in whose power it was to have kept down or to have extinguished this flame on its first appearance, either neglected to exert themselves, or were active in kindling and spreading it. Henry VIII., though he affected to assume the name of mediator, and both parties made frequent appeals to him, had laid aside the impartiality which suited that character. Wolsey, by his artifices, had estranged him so entirely from the French king, that he secretly fomented the discord which he ought to have composed, and waited only for some decent pretext to join his arms to those of the emperor.

Leo's endeavours to excite discord between the emperor and Francis were more avowed and had greater influence. He flattered himself that, after assisting the one monarch to strip the other of his possessions in Italy, he might find means of driving out the victor in his turn, and acquire the glory of restoring Italy to the liberty and happiness which it had enjoyed before the invasion of Charles VIII., when every state was governed by its native princes or its own laws, and unacquainted with a foreign yoke. So alluring was the prospect of this to Leo, that notwithstanding the gentleness of his disposition, and his fondness for the pleasures of a refined and luxurious ease, he hastened to disturb the peace of Europe, and to plunge himself into a dangerous war, with an impetuosity scarcely inferior to that of the turbulent and martial Julius.

It was in Leo's power, however, to choose which of the monarchs he would take for his confederate against the other. Both of them courted his friendship: he wavered for some time between them, and though he at first concluded an alliance with Francis, he soon deserted his new ally, and made overtures of friendship, though with great secrecy, to the emperor. Don John Manuel, the same man who had been the favourite of Philip, and whose address had disconcerted all Ferdinand's schemes, having been delivered, upon the death of that monarch, from the



prison to which he had been confined, was now the imperial ambassador at Rome, and fully capable of improving this favourable disposition in the pope to his master's advantage. To him the conduct of this negotiation was entirely committed; and being carefully concealed from Chievres, whose aversion to a war with France would have prompted him to retard or to defeat it, an alliance between the pope and emperor was quickly concluded. The chief articles in this treaty, which proved the foundation of Charles's grandeur in Italy, were, that the pope and emperor should join their forces to expel the French out of the Milanese, the possession of which should be granted to Francis Sforza, a son of Ludovico the Moor, who had resided at Trent since the time that his brother Maximilian had been dispossessed of his dominions by the French king; that Parma and Placentia should be restored to the church; that the emperor should assist the pope in conquering Ferrara; that the annual tribute paid by the kingdom of Naples to the holy see should be increased; that the emperor should take the family of Medici under his protection; that he should grant to the cardinal of that name a pension of 10,000 ducats upon the archbishopric of Toledo, and should settle lands in the kingdom of Naples to the same value upon Alexander, the natural son of Lorenzo de Medici.

The transacting an affair of such moment without his participation, appeared to Chievres so decisive a proof of his having lost the ascendant which he had hitherto maintained over the mind of his pupil, that his chagrin on this account, added to the melancholy with which he was overwhelmed on taking a view of the many and unavoidable calamities attending a war against France, is said to have shortened his days: it is certain that his death, at this critical juncture, extinguished all hopes of avoiding a rupture with France. This event too delivered Charles from a minister to whose authority he had been accustomed from his infancy to submit with such im-

plicit deference as checked and depressed his genius, and retained him in a state of pupillage unbecoming his years as well as his rank. But this restraint being removed, the native powers of his mind were permitted to unfold themselves, and he began to display such great talents, both in council and in action, as exceeded the hopes of his contemporaries, and command the admiration of posterity.

While the pope and emperor were preparing, in consequence of their secret alliance, to attack Milan, hostilities commenced in another quarter. The children of John d'Albert, king of Navarre, having often demanded the restitution of their hereditary dominions, in terms of the treaty of Noyon, and Charles having as often eluded their requests upon very frivolous pretexts, Francis thought himself authorized by that treaty to assist the exiled family. The juncture appeared extremely favourable for such an enterprise. Charles was at a distance from that part of his dominions; the troops usually stationed there had been called away to quell the commotions in Spain; the Spanish malcontents warmly solicited him to invade Navarre, in which a considerable faction was ready to declare for the descendants of their ancient monarchs. But in order to avoid, as much as possible, giving offence to the emperor or king of England, Francis directed forces to be levied and the war to be carried on, not in his own name, but in that of Henry d'Albert. The conduct of these troops was committed to Andrew de Foix de l'Esparre, a young nobleman, whom his near alliance to the unfortunate king whose battles he was to fight, and, what was still more powerful, the interest of his sister, Madame de Chateaubriand, Francis's favourite mistress, recommended to that important trust, for which he had neither talents nor experience. But as there was no army in the field to oppose him, he became master in a few days of the whole kingdom of Navarre, without meeting with any obstruction but from the citadel of Pampeluna.

The additional works to this fortress, begun by Ximenes, were still unfinished ; nor would its slight resistance have deserved notice, if Ignatio Loyola, a Biscayan gentleman, who afterwards founded the order of Jesuits, had not been dangerously wounded in its defence.

If, upon the reduction of Pampeluna, L'Esparre had been satisfied with taking proper precautions for securing his conquest, the kingdom of Navarre might still have remained annexed to the crown of France, in reality as well as in title. But, pushed on by youthful ardour, and encouraged by Francis, who was too apt to be dazzled with success, he ventured to pass the confines of Navarre, and to lay siege to Logroño, a small town in Castile. This roused the Castilians, who had hitherto beheld the rapid progress of his arms with great unconcern, and the dissensions in that kingdom (of which a full account shall be given) being almost composed, both parties exerted themselves with emulation in defence of their country ; the one, that it might efface the memory of past misconduct by its present zeal ; the other, that it might add to the merit of having subdued the emperor's rebellious subjects, that of repulsing his foreign enemies. The sudden advance of their troops, together with the gallant defence made by the inhabitants of Logroño, obliged the French general to abandon his rash enterprise. His forces were totally routed, he himself, together with his principal officers, was taken prisoner, and Spain recovered possession of Navarre in still shorter time than the French had spent in the conquest of it.

While Francis endeavoured to justify his invasion of Navarre, by carrying it on in the name of Henry d'Albert, he had recourse to an artifice much of the same kind, in attacking another part of the emperor's territories. Robert de la Mark, lord of the small but independent territory of Bouillon, situated on the frontiers of Luxembourg and Champagne, having abandoned Charles's service on account of an en-

croachment which the Aulic council had made on his jurisdiction, and having thrown himself upon France for protection, was easily persuaded, in the heat of his resentment, to send a herald to Worms, and to declare war against the emperor in form. Such extravagant insolence in a petty prince surprised Charles, and appeared to him a certain proof of his having received promises of powerful support from the French king. The justness of this conclusion soon became evident. Robert entered the duchy of Luxembourg with troops levied in France by the king's connivance, though seemingly in contradiction to his orders, and, after ravaging the open country, laid siege to Vireton. Of this Charles complained loudly as a direct violation of the peace subsisting between the two crowns; and summoned Henry VIII., in terms of the treaty concluded at London in the year 1518, to turn his arms against Francis as the first aggressor. Francis pretended that he was not answerable for Robert's conduct, whose army fought under his own standards and in his own quarrel; and affirmed that, contrary to an express prohibition, he had seduced some subjects of France into his service; but Henry paid so little regard to this evasion that the French king, rather than irritate a prince whom he still hoped to gain, commanded De la Mark to disband his troops.

The emperor, meanwhile, was assembling an army to chastise Robert's insolence. Twenty thousand men, under the count of Nassau, invaded his little territories, and in a few days became masters of every place in them but Sedan. After making him feel so sensibly the weight of his master's indignation, Nassau advanced towards the frontiers of France and Charles, knowing that he might presume so far on Henry's partiality in his favour as not to be overawed by the same fears which had restrained Francis, ordered his general to besiege Mouson. The cowardice of the garrison having obliged the governor to surrender almost without resistance



Nassau invested Mezieres. Happily for France, its monarch, sensible of the importance of this fortress, and of the danger to which it was exposed, committed the defence of it to the chevalier Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The knight without fear and without reproach*. This man possessed all the talents which form a great general; partly by his valour, partly by his conduct, he protracted the siege to a great length, and in the end obliged the imperialists to raise it with disgrace and loss. Francis, at the head of a numerous army, soon retook Mouson, and entering the Low Countries, made several conquests of small importance. In the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, through an excess of caution, an error with which he cannot be often charged, he lost an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was still more unfortunate, he disgusted Charles, duke of Bourbon, high constable of France, by giving the command of the van to the duke d'Alençon, though this post of honour belonged to Bourbon, as a prerogative of his office.

During these operations in the field, a congress was held at Calais under the mediation of Henry VIII., in order to bring all differences to an amicable issue; and if the intentions of the mediator had corresponded in any degree to his professions, it could hardly have failed of producing some good effect. But Henry committed the sole management of the negotiation, with unlimited powers, to Wolsey; and this choice alone was sufficient to have rendered it abortive. That prelate, bent on attaining the papal crown, the great object of his ambition, and ready to sacrifice every thing in order to gain the emperor's interest, was so little able to conceal his partiality, that if Francis had not been well acquainted with his haughty and vindictive temper, he would have declined his mediation; and after much time spent in discussing various proposals, the congress broke up without any other effect than that

which attends unsuccessful negotiations, the exasperating of the parties whom it was intended to reconcile.

During the continuance of the congress, Wolsey, on pretence that the emperor himself would be more willing to make more reasonable concessions than his ministers, made an excursion to Bruges, to meet that monarch. He was received by Charles, who knew his vanity, with as much respect and magnificence as if he had been king of England. But instead of advancing the treaty of peace by this interview, Wolsey, in his master's name, concluded a league with the emperor against Francis; in which it was stipulated, that Charles should invade France on the side of Spain, and Henry in Picardy, each with an army of 40,000 men; and that, in order to strengthen their union, Charles should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's only child, and the apparent heir of his dominions. While Charles attacked France on one frontier, Henry flattered himself that he should find little resistance on the other, and that the glory of reannexing to the crown of England the ancient inheritance of its monarchs on the continent was reserved for his reign. Wolsey artfully encouraged these vain hopes, which led his master into such measures as were most subservient to his own secret schemes; and the English, whose hereditary animosity against the French was apt to rekindle on every occasion, did not disapprove of the martial spirit of their sovereign.

Meanwhile the league between the pope and the emperor produced great effects in Italy, and rendered Lombardy the chief theatre of war. There was at that time such contrariety between the character of the French and the Italians, that the latter submitted to the government of the former with greater impatience than they expressed under the dominion of other foreigners. Francis had committed the government of Milan to Odet de Foix, Mareschal de Lautrec, another brother of Madame de Chateau-

briand, an officer of great experience and reputation, but haughty, imperious, rapacious, and incapable either of listening to advice or of bearing contradiction. His insolence and exactions totally alienated the affections of the Milanese from France, drove many of the considerable citizens into banishment, and forced others to retire for their own safety. Among the last was Jerome Moroné, vice-chancellor of Milan, a man of great genius for intrigue and enterprise; he suspected the pope's intention of attacking the Milanese, although his treaty with the emperor was not yet made public, and proposed to Leo a scheme for surprising several places in that duchy by means of the exiles, who, from hatred to the French, and from attachment to their former masters, were ready for any desperate enterprise. Leo not only encouraged the attempt, but advanced a considerable sum towards the execution of it; and when, through unforeseen accidents, it failed of success in every part, he allowed the exiles, who had assembled in a body, to retire to Reggio, which belonged at that time to the church. The Mareschal de Foix, who commanded at Milan in absence of his brother Lautrec, who was then in France, tempted with the hopes of catching at once, as in a snare, all the avowed enemies of his master's government in that country, ventured to march into the ecclesiastical territories, and to invest Reggio. But the vigilance and good conduct of Guicciardini the historian, governor of that place, obliged the French general to abandon the enterprise with disgrace. Leo, on receiving this intelligence, with which he was highly pleased, as it furnished him a decent pretence for a rupture with France, immediately assembled the consistory of cardinals. After complaining bitterly of the hostile intentions of the French king, and magnifying the emperor's zeal for the church, of which he had given a recent proof by his proceedings against Luther, he declared that he was constrained in self-defence, and as the only expe-

dient for the security of the ecclesiastical state, to join his arms to those of that prince. For this purpose he now pretended to conclude a treaty with Don John Manuel, although it had really been signed some months before this time; and he publicly excommunicated de Foix, as an impious invader of St. Peter's patrimony.

Leo had already begun preparations for war by taking into pay a considerable body of Swiss; but the imperial troops advanced so slowly from Naples and Germany, that it was the middle of autumn before the army took the field under the command of Prosper Colonna, the most eminent of the Italian generals, whose extreme caution, the effect of long experience in the art of war, was opposed with great propriety to the impetuosity of the French. In the mean time De Foix despatched courier after courier to inform the king of the danger which was approaching. Francis, whose forces were either employed in the Low Countries or assembling on the frontiers of Spain, sent ambassadors to his allies the Swiss, to procure from them the immediate levy of an additional body of troops; and commanded Lautrec to repair forthwith to his government. That general having assembled a considerable army, though far inferior in number to that of the confederates, adopted the plan of defence most suitable to his situation, avoiding a pitched battle with the greatest care, while he harassed the enemy continually with his light troops, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and covered or relieved every place which they attempted to attack. But an unforeseen accident disconcerted all his measures, and occasioned a fatal reverse in the French affairs. A body of 12,000 Swiss served in Lautrec's army under the banners of the republic, with which France was in alliance. The cardinal of Sion, who still preserved his interest among his countrymen and his enmity to France, had prevailed on a body of 12,000 Swiss to join the army of the confederates, though



against the law of the cantons for their troops to be hired by two contending parties. When the leaders in the cantons saw so many of their countrymen marching under the hostile standards, they despatched couriers commanding their people to leave both armies, and to return forthwith into their own country. The cardinal of Sion, however, had the address, by corrupting the messengers appointed to carry this order, to prevent it from being delivered to the Swiss in the service of the confederates; but being intimated in due form to those in the French army, they, fatigued with the length of the campaign, and murmuring for want of pay, instantly yielded obedience in spite of Lautrec's remonstrances and entreaties.

After the desertion of a body which formed the strength of his army, Lautrec durst no longer face the confederates; but was obliged to shut himself up within the walls of Milan. The confederates were preparing to besiege this city when an unknown person, who never afterwards appeared either to boast of this service or to claim a reward for it, came from the city, and acquainted Moroné, that if the army would advance that night, the Ghibelline or imperial faction would put them in possession of one of the gates. Colonna, though no friend to rash enterprises, allowed the marquis de Pescara to advance with the Spanish infantry, and he himself followed with the rest of his troops. About the beginning of night Pescara, arriving at the Roman gate in the suburbs, surprised the soldiers whom he found there; those posted in the fortifications adjoining to it immediately fled; the marquis, seizing the works which they abandoned, and pushing forward incessantly, though with no less caution than vigour, became master of the city with little bloodshed, and almost without resistance; the victors being as much astonished as the vanquished at the facility and success of the attempt. Lautrec retired precipitately towards the Venetian territories with the remains of his

shattered army; the cities of the Milanese, following the fate of the capital, surrendered to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state; and of all their conquests in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the castle of Milan, and a few inconsiderable forts, remained in the hands of the French.

Leo received the accounts of this rapid succession of prosperous events with such transports of joy, as brought on (if we may believe the French historians) a slight fever, which, being neglected, occasioned his death on the 2d of December, while he was still of a vigorous age and at the height of his glory.

Great discord prevailed in the conclave which followed upon Leo's death, and all the arts natural to men grown old in intrigue, when contending for the highest prize an ecclesiastic can obtain, were practised. Wolsey's name, notwithstanding all the emperor's magnificent promises to favour his pretensions, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the conclave. Julio, cardinal de Medici, Leo's nephew, who was more eminent than any other member of the sacred college for his abilities, his wealth, and his experience in transacting great affairs, had already secured fifteen voices, a number sufficient, according to the forms of the conclave, to exclude any other candidate, though not to carry his own election. As he was still in the prime of life, all the aged cardinals combined against him, without being united in favour of any other person. While these factions were endeavouring to gain, to corrupt, or to weary out, each other, Medici and his adherents voted one morning at the scrutiny, which, according to form, was made every day, for cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who at that time governed Spain in the emperor's name. This they did merely to protract time. But the adverse party instantly closing with them, to their own amazement and that of all Europe, a stranger to Italy, unknown to the persons who gave their suffrages in his favour, and unacquainted with

the manners of the people or the interest of the state the government of which they conferred upon him, was unanimously raised to the papal throne, at a juncture so delicate and critical, as would have demanded all the sagacity and experience of one of the most able prelates in the sacred college. The cardinals themselves, unable to give a reason for this strange choice, on account of which, as they marched in procession from the conclave, they were loaded with insults and curses by the Roman people, ascribed it to an immediate impulse of the Holy Ghost. It may be imputed with greater certainty to the influence of Don John Manuel, the imperial ambassador, who by his address and intrigues facilitated the election of a person devoted to his master's service, from gratitude, from interest, and from inclination.

Francis observed, with the sensibility of a rival, the pre-eminence which the emperor was gaining, and resolved to exert himself with fresh vigour, in order to wrest from him his late conquests in Italy. The Swiss, that they might make some reparation to the French king for having withdrawn their troops from his army so unseasonably as to occasion the loss of the Milanese, permitted him to levy 10,000 men in the republic. Together with this reinforcement, Lautrec received from the king a small sum of money, which enabled him once more to take the field; and, after seizing by surprise or force several places in the Milanese, to advance within a few miles of the capital. The confederate army was in no condition to obstruct his progress; for though the inhabitants of Milan, by the artifices of Moroné, and by the popular declamations of a monk whom he employed, were inflamed with such enthusiastic zeal against the French government that they consented to raise extraordinary contributions, Colonna must soon have abandoned the advantageous camp which he had chosen at Bicocca, and have dismissed his troops for want of pay, if the Swiss in the French service had not once more extricated him out of his difficulties.

Having now served some months without pay, of which they complained loudly, a sum destined for their use was sent from France under a convoy of horse; but Moroné, whose vigilant eye nothing escaped, posted a body of troops in their way, so that the party which escorted the money durst not advance. On receiving intelligence of this, the Swiss lost all patience, and officers as well as soldiers crowding around Lautrec, threatened with one voice instantly to retire, if he did not either advance the pay which was due, or promise to lead them next morning to battle. In vain did Lautrec remonstrate against these demands; the Swiss, deaf to reason, and persuaded that their valour was capable of surmounting every obstacle, renewed their demand with great fierceness, offering themselves to form the vanguard and to begin the attack. Lautrec, unable to overcome their obstinacy, complied with their request. Next morning the Swiss were early in the field, and marched with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy. But after incredible efforts of valour, which were seconded with great spirit by the French, having lost their bravest officers and best soldiers, and finding that they could make no impression on the enemy's works, they sounded a retreat; leaving the field of battle, however, like men repulsed but not vanquished, in close array, and without receiving any molestation from the enemy.

Next day such as survived set out for their own country; and Lautrec, despairing of being able to make any farther resistance, retired into France, after throwing garrisons into Cremona and a few other places; all which, except the citadel of Cremona, Colonna soon obliged to surrender.

Genoa, however, and its territories, remaining subject to France, still gave Francis considerable footing in Italy, and made it easy for him to execute any scheme for the recovery of the Milanese. But Colonna, rendered enterprising by continual success, and excited by the solicitations of the faction of the



Adorni, the hereditary enemies of the Fregosi, who, under the protection of France, possessed the chief authority in Genoa, determined to attempt the reduction of that state; and accomplished it with amazing facility. He became master of Genoa by an accident as unexpected as that which had given him possession of Milan; and, almost without opposition or bloodshed, the power of the Adorni, and the authority of the emperor, were established in Genoa.

Such a cruel succession of misfortunes affected Francis with deep concern, which was not a little augmented by the unexpected arrival of an English herald, who, in the name of his sovereign, declared war in form against France. Francis, though he had reason to be surprised with this denunciation, received the herald with great composure and dignity; and began vigorous preparations for resisting this new enemy.

The emperor, meanwhile, was no less solicitous to draw as much advantage as possible from the accession of such a powerful ally; and the prosperous situation of his affairs at this time permitting him to set out for Spain, where his presence was extremely necessary, he visited the court of England in his way to that country. He proposed by this interview not only to strengthen the bonds of friendship which united him with Henry, and to excite him to push the war against France with vigour, but hoped to remove any disgust or resentment that Wolsey might have conceived on account of the mortifying disappointment which he had met with in the late conclave. His success exceeded his most sanguine expectations; and by his artful address, during a residence of six weeks in England, he gained not only the king and the minister, but the nation itself.

In order to give Charles, before he left England, a proof of this general ardour, the Earl of Surrey (whom the emperor had appointed his high-admiral) sailed with such forces as were ready, and ravaged

the coasts of Normandy. He then made a descent on Bretagne, where he plundered and burnt Morlaix, and some other places of less consequence. After these slight excursions, attended with greater dishonour than damage to France, he repaired to Calais, and took the command of the principal army consisting of 16,000 men : with which, having joined the Flemish troops under the count de Buren, he advanced into Picardy. The duke of Vendôme, the French general in Picardy, by his prudence in avoiding a pitched battle, and continually harassing the enemy with his cavalry, not only prevented Surrey from taking any town of importance, but obliged him to retire with his army greatly reduced by fatigue, by want of provisions, and by the loss which it had sustained in several unsuccessful skirmishes. Thus ended the second campaign, in a war the most general that had hitherto been kindled in Europe.

While the Christian princes were thus wasting each other's strength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary with a numerous army, and investing Belgrade, which was deemed the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish arms, soon forced it to surrender. Encouraged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the island of Rhodes, the seat, at that time, of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. This small state he attacked with such a numerous army as the lords of Asia have been accustomed, in every age, to bring into the field. Two hundred thousand men, and a fleet of 400 sail, appeared against a town defended by a garrison consisting of 5000 soldiers and 600 knights, under the command of Villiers de L'Isle Adam, the grand master, whose wisdom and valour rendered him worthy of that station at such a dangerous juncture. No sooner did he begin to suspect the destination of Solyman's vast armaments, than he despatched messengers to all the Christian courts, imploring their aid against the common enemy.

But though every prince, in that age, acknowledged Rhodes to be the great bulwark of Christendom in the east, and trusted to the gallantry of its knights as the best security against the progress of the Ottoman arms; though Adrian, with a zeal which became the head and father of the church, exhorted the contending powers to forget their private quarrels, and, by uniting their arms, to prevent the infidels from destroying a society which did honour to the Christian name; yet so violent and implacable was the animosity of both parties, that, regardless of the danger to which they exposed all Europe, and unmoved by the entreaties of the grand master, or the admonitions of the pope, they suffered Solymán to carry on his operations against Rhodes without disturbance. The grand master, after incredible efforts of courage, of patience, and of military conduct, during a siege of six months; after sustaining many assaults, and disputing every post with amazing obstinacy, was obliged at last to yield to numbers; and having obtained an honourable capitulation from the sultan, who admired and respected his virtue, he surrendered the town, which was reduced to a heap of rubbish, and destitute of every resource. Charles and Francis, ashamed of having occasioned such a loss to Christendom by their ambitious contests, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all Europe, with greater justice, imputed it equally to both. The emperor, by way of reparation, granted the knights of St. John the small island of Malta, in which they fixed their residence, retaining, though with less power and splendour, their ancient spirit, and implacable enmity to the infidels.

## BOOK III.

CHARLES having had the satisfaction of seeing hostilities begun between France and England, took leave of Henry, and arrived in Spain on the 17th of June. He found that country just beginning to recover order and strength after the miseries of a civil war, to which it had been exposed during his absence; an account of the rise and progress of which, as it was but little connected with other events which happened in Europe, hath been reserved to this place.

No sooner was it known that the cortes assembled in Galicia had voted the emperor a *free gift*, without obtaining the redress of any one grievance, than it excited universal indignation. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves, on account of the great privileges which they enjoyed, as guardians of the liberties of the Castilian commons, finding that no regard was paid to the remonstrances of their deputies against that unconstitutional grant, took arms with tumultuary violence, and seizing the gates of the city, which were fortified, attacked the Al-cazar, or castle, which they soon obliged the governor to surrender. Imboldened by this success, they deprived of all authority every person whom they suspected of any attachment to the court, established a popular form of government, composed of deputies from the several parishes in the city, and levied troops in their own defence. The chief leader of the people, in these insurrections, was Don John de Padilla, the eldest son of the commendator of Castile, a young nobleman of a generous temper, of undaunted courage, and possessed of the talents, as well as of the ambition, which, in times of civil discord, raise men to power and eminence.

The resentment of the citizens of Segovia produced effects still more fatal. Tordesillas, one of their representatives in the late cortes, had voted



for the donative, and being a bold and haughty man, ventured, upon his return, to call together his fellow-citizens in the great church, that he might give them, according to custom, an account of his conduct in that assembly. But the multitude, unable to bear his insolence, in attempting to justify what they thought inexcusable, burst open the gates of the church with the utmost fury, and seizing the unhappy Tordesillas, dragged him through the streets, with a thousand curses and insults, towards the place of public execution. The same spirit seized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities; and though their representatives, taking warning from the fate of Tordesillas, had been so wise as to save themselves by a timely flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houses razed to the ground, and their effects consumed with fire; and such was the horror which the people had conceived against them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in those licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valuable, which had belonged to them.

Adrian, at that time regent of Spain, had scarcely fixed the seat of his government at Valladolid, when he was alarmed with an account of these insurrections. He immediately assembled the privy council to deliberate concerning the proper method of suppressing them. The counsellors differed in opinion; some insisting that it was necessary to check this audacious spirit in its infancy by a severe execution of justice; others advising to treat with lenity a people who had some reason to be incensed, and not to drive them beyond all the bounds of duty by an ill-timed rigour. The sentiments of the former, being warmly supported by the archbishop of Granada, president of the council, a person of great authority, but choleric and impetuous, were approved by Adrian, whose zeal to support his master's authority hurried him into a measure to which, from his natural caution and timidity, he would

otherwise have been averse. He commanded Ronquillo, one of the king's judges, to repair instantly to Segovia, which had set the first example of mutiny, and to proceed against the delinquents according to law; and lest the people should be so outrageous as to resist his authority, a considerable body of troops was appointed to attend him. The Segovians, foreseeing what they might expect from a judge so well known for his austere and unforgiving temper, took arms with one consent, and having mustered 12,000 men, shut their gates against him. Ronquillo, enraged at this insult, denounced them rebels and outlaws, and his troops seizing all the avenues to the town, hoped that it would soon be obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The inhabitants, however, defended themselves with vigour, and having received a considerable reinforcement from Toledo, under the command of Padilla, attacked Ronquillo, and forced him to retire with the loss of his baggage and military chest.

Upon this, Adrian ordered Antonio de Fonseca, whom the emperor had appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Castile, to assemble an army, and to besiege Segovia in form. But the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, where cardinal Ximenes had established a vast magazine of military stores, would not suffer him to draw from it a train of battering cannon, or to destroy their countrymen with those arms which had been prepared against the enemies of the kingdom. Fonseca, who could not execute his orders without artillery, determined to seize the magazine by force; and the citizens standing on their defence, he assaulted the town with great briskness; but his troops were so warmly received, that, despairing of carrying the place, he set fire to some of the houses, in hopes that the citizens would abandon the walls, in order to save their families and effects. Instead of that, the expedient to which he had recourse served only to increase their fury, and he was repulsed with great disgrace, while the flames, spreading from

street to street, reduced to ashes almost the whole town, one of the most considerable at that time in Spain, and the great mart for the manufactories of Segovia and several other cities. As the warehouses were then filled with goods for the approaching fair, the loss was immense, and was felt universally. This, added to the impression which such a cruel action made on a people long unaccustomed to the horrors of civil war, enraged the Castilians almost to madness. Fonseca became the object of general hatred, and was branded with the name of incendiary and enemy to his country. Even the citizens of Valladolid, whom the presence of the cardinal had hitherto restrained, declared that they could no longer remain inactive spectators of the sufferings of their countrymen. Taking arms with no less fury than the other cities, they burnt Fonseca's house to the ground, elected new magistrates, raised soldiers, appointed officers to command them, and guarded their walls with as much diligence as if an enemy had been ready to attack them.

The cardinal, though virtuous and disinterested, and capable of governing the kingdom with honour in times of tranquillity, possessed neither the courage nor the sagacity necessary at such a dangerous juncture. Finding himself unable to check these outrages committed under his own eye, he attempted to appease the people, by protesting that Fonseca had exceeded his orders, and had by his rash conduct offended him as much as he had injured them. This condescension, the effect of irresolution and timidity, rendered the malcontents bolder and more insolent; and the cardinal having soon after recalled Fonseca, and dismissed his troops, which he could no longer afford to pay, as the treasury, drained by the rapaciousness of the Flemish ministers, had received no supply from the great cities, which were all in arms, the people were left at full liberty to act without control, and scarcely any shadow of power remained in his hands.

The first care of Padilla and the other popular leaders, who observed and determined to improve these circumstances, was to establish some form of union or association among the malcontents, that they might act with greater regularity, and pursue one common end; and as the different cities had been prompted to take arms by the same motives, and were accustomed to consider themselves a distinct body from the rest of the subjects, they did not find this difficult. A general convention was appointed to be held at Avila. Deputies appeared there in name of almost all the cities entitled to have representatives in the cortes. They all bound themselves by solemn oath to live and die in the service of the king, and in defence of the privileges of their order; and assuming the name of the Holy *Junta*, or Association, proceeded to deliberate concerning the state of the nation, and the proper method of redressing its grievances. The first that naturally presented itself was the nomination of a foreigner to be regent; this they declared with one voice to be a violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and resolved to send a deputation of their members to Adrian, requiring him in their name to lay aside all the ensigns of his office, and to abstain for the future from the exercise of a jurisdiction which they had pronounced illegal.

While they were preparing to execute this bold resolution, Padilla accomplished an enterprise of the greatest advantage to the cause. After relieving Segovia, he marched suddenly to Tordesillas, the place where the unhappy queen Joanna had resided since the death of her husband, and being favoured by the inhabitants, was admitted into the town, and became master of her person, for the security of which Adrian had neglected to take proper precautions.

The Junta now carried on all their deliberations in the name of Joanna; and Padilla having prevailed on her to be present at a tournament, they made the



people believe she was perfectly recovered, though she could never be induced either by argument or intreaty to sign any paper necessary for the despatch of business. The Junta, however, were fully conscious of the reputation and power which they had acquired by seeming to act under the royal authority, and were no longer satisfied with requiring Adrian to resign the office of regent ; they detached Padilla to Valladolid with a considerable body of troops, ordering him to seize such members of the council as were still in that city, to conduct them to Tordesillas, and to bring away the seals of the kingdom, the public archives, and treasury books. Padilla, who was received by the citizens as the deliverer of his country, executed his commission with great exactness ; permitting Adrian, however, still to reside in Valladolid, though only as a private person, and without any shadow of power.

The emperor, to whom frequent accounts of these transactions were transmitted while he was still in Flanders, was sensible of his own imprudence and that of his ministers, in having despised too long the murmurs and remonstrances of the Castilians. He beheld with deep concern a kingdom, the most valuable of any he possessed, and in which lay the strength and sinews of his power, just ready to disown his authority, and on the point of being plunged in all the miseries of civil war. But though his presence might have averted this calamity, he could not, at that time, visit Spain without endangering the imperial crown, and allowing the French king full leisure to execute his ambitious schemes. The only point now to be deliberated upon was, whether he should attempt to gain the malcontents by indulgence and concessions, or prepare directly to suppress them by force ; and he resolved to make trial of the former, while, at the same time, if that should fail of success, he prepared for the latter. For this purpose he issued circular letters to all the cities of Castile, exhorting them in most gentle

terms, and with assurances of full pardon, to lay down their arms; he promised such cities as had continued faithful, not to exact from them the subsidy granted in the late cortes; offered the same favour to such as returned to their duty; and he engaged that no office should be conferred for the future upon any but native Castilians. On the other hand, he wrote to the nobles, exciting them to appear with vigour in defence of their own rights, and those of the crown, against the exorbitant claims of the commons; he appointed the high admiral, Don Fadrique Enriquez, and the high constable of Castile, Don Inigo de Valasco, two noblemen of great abilities as well as influence, regents of the kingdom in conjunction with Adrian; and he gave them full power and instructions, if the obstinacy of the malcontents should render it necessary, to vindicate the royal authority by force of arms.

These concessions, which, at the time of his leaving Spain, would have fully satisfied the people, came now too late to produce any effect. The Junta, relying on the unanimity with which the nation submitted to their authority, elated with the success which hitherto had accompanied all their undertakings, and seeing no military force collected to defeat or obstruct their designs, aimed at a more thorough reformation of political abuses. They had been employed for some time in preparing a remonstrance containing a large enumeration, not only of the grievances of which they craved redress, but of such new regulations as they thought necessary for the security of their liberties.

This remonstrance they appointed some of their number to present to the Emperor, and the members intrusted with this commission set out immediately for Germany; but having received at different places certain intelligence from court, that they could not venture to appear there without endangering their lives, they stopped short in their journey, and acquainted the Junta of the information which had

been given them. This excited such violent passions as transported the whole party beyond all bounds of prudence or of moderation. That a king of Castile should deny his subjects access into his presence, or refuse to listen to their humble petitions, was represented as an act of tyranny so unprecedented and intolerable, that nothing now remained but with arms in their hands to drive away that ravenous band of foreigners which encompassed the throne, who, after having devoured the wealth of the kingdom, found it necessary to prevent the cries of an injured people from reaching the ears of their sovereign.

The Junta soon took the field with 20,000 men. Violent disputes arose concerning the command of this army. Padilla, the darling of the people and soldiers, was the only person whom they thought worthy of this honour. But Don Pedro de Giron, the eldest son of the condé de Uruena, a young nobleman of the first order, having lately joined the commons out of private resentment against the emperor, the respect due to his birth, together with a secret desire of disappointing Padilla, of whose popularity many members of the Junta had become jealous, procured him the office of general; though he soon gave them a fatal proof that he possessed neither the experience, the abilities, nor the steadiness, which that important station required.

The regents, meanwhile, appointed Rioseco as the place of rendezvous for their troops, which, though far inferior to those of the commons in number, excelled them greatly in discipline and in valour. The character of the generals differed no less than that of their troops. The royalists being commanded by the condé de Haro, the constable's eldest son, an officer of great experience and of distinguished abilities.

Giron marched with his army directly to Rioseco, and seizing the villages and passes around it hoped that the royalists would be obliged either to surren-

der for want of provisions, or to fight with disadvantage before all their troops were assembled. But he had not the abilities, nor his troops the patience and discipline, necessary for the execution of such a scheme. The condé de Haro found little difficulty in conducting a considerable reinforcement through all his posts into the town; and Giron, despairing of being able to reduce it, advanced suddenly to Villapanda, a place belonging to the constable, in which the enemy had their chief magazine of provisions. By this ill-judged motion he left Tordesillas open to the royalists, whom the condé de Haro led thither in the night with the utmost secrecy and despatch; and attacking the town, in which Giron had left no other garrison than a regiment of priests, raised by the bishop of Zamora, he, by break of day, forced his way into it after a desperate resistance, became master of the queen's person, took prisoners many members of the Junta, and recovered the great seal, with the other ensigns of government.

By this fatal blow the Junta lost all the reputation and authority which they had derived from seeming to act by the queen's commands; such of the nobles as had hitherto been wavering or undetermined in their choice, now joined the regents with all their forces; and an universal consternation seized the partisans of the commons.

Such members of the Junta as had escaped the enemies' hands at Tordesillas, fled to Valladolid; and as it would have required a long time to supply the places of those who were prisoners by a new election, they made choice among themselves of a small number of persons, to whom they committed the supreme direction of affairs. Their army, which grew stronger every day by the arrival of troops from different parts of the kingdom, marched likewise to Valladolid; and Padilla being appointed commander in chief, the spirits of the soldiery revived, and the whole party, forgetting the late mis-



fortune, continued to express the same ardent zeal for the liberties of their country, and the same implacable animosity against their oppressors.

What they stood most in need of was money to pay their troops. But from this difficulty they were extricated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's wife, a woman of noble birth, of great abilities, of boundless ambition, and animated with the most ardent zeal in support of the cause of the Junta. She, with a boldness superior to those superstitious fears which often influence her sex, proposed to seize all the rich and magnificent ornaments in the cathedral of Toledo; but lest that action, by its appearance of impiety, might offend the people, she and her retinue marched to the church in solemn procession in mourning habits, with tears in their eyes, beating their breasts, and, falling on their knees, implored the pardon of the saints whose shrines she was about to violate. The regents, no less at a loss how to maintain their troops, the revenues of the crown having either been dissipated by the Flemings or seized by the commons, were obliged to take the queen's jewels, together with the plate belonging to the nobility, and apply them to that purpose, and when those failed, they obtained a small sum by way of loan from the king of Portugal.

The success which Padilla now met with in several small rencounters, and in reducing some inconsiderable towns, gave the members of the Junta such confidence in the valour of their troops, that they hoped for an easy victory over the royalists. Padilla, that his army might not remain inactive, laid siege to Torrelobaton, a place of greater strength and importance than any that he had hitherto ventured to attack, and which was defended by a sufficient garrison; and though the besieged made a desperate resistance, and the admiral attempted to relieve them, he took the town by storm, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. If he had marched instantly with his victorious army to Tor-

desillas, the head-quarters of the royalists, he could hardly have failed of making an effectual impression on their troops, whom he would have found in astonishment at the briskness of his operations, and far from being of sufficient strength to give him battle. But the fickleness and imprudence of the Junta prevented his taking this step. Incapable, like all popular associations, either of carrying on war or of making peace, they listened again to overtures of accommodation, and even agreed to a short suspension of arms. This negotiation terminated in nothing; but while it was carrying on, many of Padilla's soldiers, unacquainted with the restraints of discipline, went off with the booty which they had got at Torrelobaton; and others, wearied out by the unusual length of the campaign, deserted. The constable, too, had leisure to assemble his forces at Burgos, and to prepare every thing for taking the field; and as soon as the truce expired, he effected a junction with the condé de Haro, in spite of all Padilla's efforts to prevent it. They advanced immediately towards Torrelobaton; and Padilla, finding the number of his troops so diminished that he durst not risk a battle, attempted to retreat to Toro, which, if he could have accomplished, the invasion of Navarre at that juncture by the French, and the necessity which the regents must have been under of detaching men to that kingdom, might have saved him from danger. But Haro, sensible how fatal the consequences would be of suffering him to escape, marched with such rapidity at the head of his cavalry, that he came up with him near Villalar, and without waiting for his infantry, advanced to the attack. Padilla's army, fatigued and disheartened by their precipitant retreat, which they could not distinguish from a flight, happened at that time to be passing over a ploughed field, on which such a violent rain had fallen, that the soldiers sunk almost to the knees at every step, and remained exposed to the fire of some field-pieces which the royalists had

brought along with them. All these circumstances so disconcerted and intimidated raw soldiers, that without facing the enemy, or making any resistance, they fled in the utmost confusion. Padilla exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity in order to rally them, though in vain; fear rendering them deaf both to his threats and entreaties; upon which, finding matters irretrievable, and resolving not to survive the disgrace of that day and the ruin of his party, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but being wounded and dismounted, he was taken prisoner. His principal officers shared the same fate; the common soldiers were allowed to depart unhurt, the nobles being too generous to kill men who threw down their arms.

The resentment of his enemies did not suffer Padilla to linger long in expectation of what should befall him. Next day he was condemned to lose his head, though without any regular trial, the notoriety of the crime being supposed sufficient to supersede the formality of a legal process. He was led instantly to execution, together with Don John Bravo and Don Francis Maldonada, the former commander of the Segovians, and the latter of the troops of Salamanca.

The victory at Villalar proved as decisive as it was complete. Valladolid, the most zealous of all the associated cities, opened its gates immediately to the conquerors, and being treated with great clemency by the regents, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and many other towns, followed its example. The city of Toledo alone, animated by Donna Maria Pacheco, Padilla's widow, who, instead of bewailing her husband with a womanish sorrow, prepared to revenge his death, and to prosecute that cause in defence of which he had suffered, must be excepted. Respect for her sex, or admiration for her courage and abilities, as well as sympathy with her misfortunes and veneration for the memory of her husband, secured her the same ascendant over the people which

he had possessed. The prudence and vigour with which she acted, justified that confidence they placed in her. She wrote to the French general in Navarre, encouraging him to invade Castile by the offer of powerful assistance: she endeavoured by her letters and emissaries to revive the spirit and hopes of the other cities: she raised soldiers, and exacted a great sum from the clergy belonging to the cathedral, in order to defray the expense of keeping them on foot. While the army was employed in Navarre, the regents were unable to attempt the reduction of Toledo by force; and all their endeavours, either to diminish Donna Maria's credit with the people, or to gain her by large promises and the solicitations of her brother the Marquis de Mondeia, proved ineffectual. Upon the expulsion of the French out of Navarre, part of the army returned into Castile, and invested Toledo. Even this made no impression on the intrepid and obstinate courage of Donna Maria. She defended the town with vigour, her troops in several sallies beat the royalists, and no progress was made towards reducing the place, until the clergy, whom she had highly offended by invading their property, ceased to support her. As soon as they received information of the death of William de Croy, archbishop of Toledo, whose possession of that see was their chief grievance, and that the emperor had named a Castilian to succeed him, they openly turned against her, and she was compelled at last to make her escape in disguise, and fled to Portugal, where she had many relations.

Upon her flight the citadel surrendered. Tranquillity was re-established in Castile; and this bold attempt of the commons, like all unsuccessful insurrections, contributed to confirm and extend the power of the crown, which it was intended to moderate and abridge.

While Castile was exposed to the calamities of civil war, the kingdom of Valencia was torn by intestine commotions still more violent. The associa-



tion which had been formed in the city of Valencia in the year 1520, and which was distinguished by the name of the Germanada, continued to subsist after the emperor's departure from Spain. The members of it, upon pretext of defending the coasts against the descents of the corsairs of Barbary, and under sanction of that permission which Charles had rashly granted them, refused to lay down their arms. But as the grievances which the Valencians aimed at redressing proceeded from the arrogance and exactions of the nobility rather than from any unwarrantable exercise of the royal prerogative, their resentment turned chiefly against the former.

The nobles were obliged to take arms in self-defence. Hostilities began, and were carried on with all the rancour with which resentment at oppression inspired the one party, and the idea of insulted dignity animated the other. But the nobles, by their superior skill in war, and at the head of troops more accustomed to service, gained the advantage in most of the rencounters. At length they were joined by a body of Castilian cavalry, which the regents despatched towards Valencia soon after their victory over Padilla at Villalar, and by their assistance the Valencian nobles acquired such superiority that they entirely broke and ruined the Germanada. The leaders of the party were put to death, almost without any formality of legal trial, and suffered such cruel punishments as the sense of recent injuries prompted their adversaries to inflict. The government of Valencia was re-established in its ancient form.

In Aragon, violent symptoms of the same spirit of disaffection and sedition which reigned in the other kingdoms of Spain began to appear; but by the prudent conduct of the viceroy, Don John de Lanusa, they were so far composed as to prevent their breaking out into any open insurrection. But in the island of Majorca, annexed to the crown of Aragon, the same causes which had excited the

commotions in Valencia produced effects no less violent. The people, impatient of the hardships which they had endured under the rigid jurisdiction of the nobility, took arms in a tumultuary manner; deposed their viceroy; drove him out of the island; and massacred every gentleman who was so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The obstinacy with which the people of Majorca persisted in their rebellion, was equal to the rage with which they began it. Many and vigorous efforts were requisite in order to reduce them to obedience; and tranquillity was re-established in every part of Spain, before the Majorcans could be brought to submit to their sovereign.

The arrival of the emperor in Spain filled his subjects who had been in arms against him with deep apprehensions, from which he soon delivered them by an act of clemency no less prudent than generous. After a rebellion so general, scarcely twenty persons, among so many criminals obnoxious to the law, had been punished capitally in Castile. Though strongly solicited by his council, Charles refused to shed any more blood by the hands of the executioner. By this appearance of magnanimity as well as by his care to avoid every thing which had disgusted the Castilians during his former residence among them; by his address in assuming their manners, in speaking their language, and in complying with all their humours and customs, he acquired an ascendant over them which hardly any of their native monarchs had ever attained, and brought them to support him in all his enterprises with a zeal and valour to which he owed much of his success and grandeur.

About the time that Charles landed in Spain, Adrian set out for Italy to take possession of his new dignity. But though the Roman people longed extremely for his arrival, they could not on his first appearance conceal their surprise and disappointment. After being accustomed to the princely

magnificence of Julius and the elegant splendour of Leo, they beheld with contempt an old man of an humble deportment, of austere manners, an enemy to pomp, destitute of taste in the arts, and unadorned with any of the external accomplishments which the vulgar expect in those raised to eminent stations. Nor did his political views and maxims seem less strange and astonishing to the pontifical ministers. He acknowledged and bewailed the corruptions which abounded in the church as well as in the court of Rome, and prepared to reform both; he discovered no intention of aggrandizing his family; he even scrupled at retaining such territories as some of his predecessors had acquired by violence or fraud rather than by any legal title; and for that reason he invested Francesco Maria de Roverè anew in the duchy of Urbino, of which Leo had stripped him, and surrendered to the duke of Ferrara several places wrested from him by the church. To men little habituated to see princes regulate their conduct by the maxims of morality and the principles of justice, these actions of the new pope appeared incontestable proofs of his weakness or inexperience. Adrian, who was a perfect stranger to the complex and intricate system of Italian politics, and who could place no confidence in persons whose subtle refinements in business suited so ill with the natural simplicity and candour of his own character, being often embarrassed and irresolute in his deliberations, the opinion of his incapacity daily increased, until both his person and government became objects of ridicule among his subjects.

Adrian, though devoted to the emperor, endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, in order that they might unite in a league against Solyman, whose conquest of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. But this was an undertaking far beyond his abilities. To examine such a variety

of pretensions, to adjust such a number of interfering interests, to extinguish the passions which ambition, emulation, and mutual injuries had kindled, to bring so many hostile powers to pursue the same scheme with unanimity and vigour, required not only uprightness of intention, but great superiority both of understanding and address.

So much regard, however, was paid to the pope's exhortations, and to a bull which he issued requiring all Christian princes to consent to a truce for three years, that the imperial, the French, and English ambassadors at Rome were empowered by their respective courts to treat of that matter; but while they wasted their time in fruitless negotiation, their masters continued their preparations for war. The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered with great firmness to their alliance with Francis, being now convinced that his affairs in Italy were in a desperate situation, entered into a league against him with the emperor; to which Adrian, at the instigation of his countryman and friend Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who persuaded him that the only obstacles to peace arose from the ambition of the French king, soon after acceded. The other Italian States followed their example; and Francis was left without a single ally to resist the efforts of so many enemies, whose armies threatened and whose territories encompassed his dominions on every side.

The dread of this powerful confederacy, it was thought, would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defensive, or at least have prevented his entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the character of that prince, too apt to become remiss and even negligent on ordinary occasions, to rouse at the approach of danger, and not only to encounter it with spirit and intrepidity, qualities which never forsook him, but to provide against it with diligence and industry. Before his enemies were ready to execute any of their schemes,



Francis had assembled a numerous army. He hoped to disconcert all the emperor's schemes by marching in person into the Milanese; and this bold measure, the more formidable because unexpected, could scarcely have failed of producing that effect: but when the vanguard of his army had already reached Lyons, and he himself was hastening after it with a second division of his troops, the discovery of a domestic conspiracy which threatened the ruin of the kingdom, obliged him to stop short, and to alter his measures.

The author of this dangerous plot was Charles, duke of Bourbon, lord high constable, whose noble birth, vast fortune, and high office, raised him to be the most powerful subject in France, as his great talents, equally suited to the field or the council, and his signal services to the crown, rendered him the most illustrious and deserving. But unhappily Louise, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion to the house of Bourbon, for no better reason than because Anne of Bretagne, the queen of Louis the Twelfth, with whom she lived in perpetual enmity, had discovered a peculiar attachment to that branch of the royal family; and had taught her son, who was too susceptible of any impression which his mother gave him, to view all the constable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealousy. His distinguished merit at the battle of Marignano had not been sufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan upon very frivolous pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult station did not deserve; the payment of his pensions had been suspended without any good cause; and during the campaign of 1521, the king, as has already been related, had affronted him in presence of the whole army, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon. The constable at first bore these indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from a high

spirited prince, conscious of what was due to his rank and to his services. Such a multiplicity of injuries, however, exhausted his patience; and inspiring him with thoughts of revenge, he retired from court and began to hold a secret correspondence with some of the emperor's ministers.

Charles, as well as the king of England, expecting prodigious advantages from his revolt, was ready to receive him with open arms, and spared neither promises nor allurements which might help to confirm him in his resolution. The emperor offered him in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the king of Portugal, with an ample portion. He was included as a principal in the treaty between Charles and Henry. The counties of Provence and Dauphiné were to be settled on him, with the title of king. The emperor engaged to enter France by the Pyrenees, and Henry, supported by the Flemings, to invade Picardy; while 12,000 Germans, levied at their common charge, were to penetrate into Burgundy, and to act in concert with Bourbon, who undertook to raise 6000 men among his friends and vassals in the heart of the kingdom. The execution of this deep-laid and dangerous plot was suspended until the king should cross the Alps with the only army capable of defending his dominions: and as he was far advanced in his march for that purpose, France was on the brink of destruction.

Happily for that kingdom, a negotiation which had now been carrying on for several months, though conducted with the most profound secrecy, and communicated only to a few chosen confidants, could not altogether escape the observation of the rest of the constable's numerous retainers, rendered more inquisitive by finding that they were distrusted. Two of these gave the king some intimation of a mysterious correspondence between their master and the count de Roëux, a Flemish nobleman of great confidence with the emperor. Francis, who could

not bring himself to suspect that the first prince of the blood would be so base as to betray the kingdom to its enemies, immediately repaired to Moulins, where the constable was in bed, feigning indisposition, that he might not be obliged to accompany the king into Italy, and acquainted him of the intelligence which he had received. Bourbon, with great solemnity, and the most imposing affectation of ingenuity and candour, asserted his own innocence; and as his health, he said, was now more confirmed, he promised to join the army within a few days. Francis, open and candid himself, and too apt to be deceived by the appearance of those virtues in others, gave such credit to what he said, that he refused to arrest him, although advised to take that precaution by his wisest counsellors; and as if the danger had been over, he continued his march towards Lyons. The constable set out soon after, seemingly with an intention to follow him; but turning suddenly to the left he crossed the Rhone, and after infinite fatigue and peril escaped all the parties which the king, who became sensible too late of his own credulity, sent out to intercept him, and reached Italy in safety.

Francis took every possible precaution to prevent the bad effects of the irreparable error which he had committed. He put garrisons in all the places of strength in the constable's territories. He seized all the gentlemen whom he could suspect of being his associates; and as he had not hitherto discovered the whole extent of the conspirator's schemes, nor knew how far the infection had spread among his subjects, he was afraid that his absence might encourage them to make some desperate attempt, and for that reason relinquished his intention of leading his army in person into Italy.

He did not, however, abandon his design on the Milanese; but appointed Admiral Bonnivet to take the supreme command in his stead, and to march into that country with an army 30,000 strong.

Bonnivet did not owe this preferment to his abilities as a general; for of all the talents requisite to form a great commander, he possessed only personal courage, the lowest and the most common. But he was the most accomplished gentleman in the French court, of agreeable manners and insinuating address, and a sprightly conversation; and Francis, who lived in great familiarity with his courtiers, was so charmed with these qualities, that he honoured him on all occasions with the most partial and distinguished marks of his favour. He was, besides, the implacable enemy of Bourbon; and as the king hardly knew whom to trust at that juncture, he thought the chief command could be lodged no where so safely as in his hands.

Colonna, who was intrusted with the defence of the Milanese, his own conquest, was in no condition to resist such a formidable army. He was obliged to retire to Milan, and, in conjunction with Moroné, he immediately set about repairing the fortifications, amassing provisions, and collecting troops from every quarter; so that by the time the French approached, he had put the city in a condition to stand a siege. Bonnivet, after some fruitless attempts on the town, which harassed his own troops more than the enemy, was obliged, by the inclemency of the season, to retire into winter-quarters.

During these transactions pope Adrian died; an event so much to the satisfaction of the Roman people, whose hatred or contempt of him augmented every day, that the night after his decease they adorned the door of his chief physician's house with garlands, adding this inscription: TO THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. The cardinal de Medici instantly renewed his pretensions to the papal dignity, and entered the conclave with high expectations on his own part, and a general opinion of the people, that they would be successful. But though supported by the imperial faction, possessed of great personal interest, and capable of all the artifices,



refinements, and corruption which reign in those assemblies, the obstinacy and intrigues of his rivals protracted the conclave to the unusual length of fifty days. The address and perseverance of the cardinal at last surmounted every obstacle. He was raised to the head of the church, and resumed the government of it by the name of Clement VII. The choice was universally approved of. High expectations were conceived of a pope whose great talents and long experience in business seemed to qualify him no less for defending the spiritual interests of the church, exposed to imminent danger by the progress of Luther's opinions, than for conducting its political operations with the prudence requisite at such a difficult juncture; and who, besides these advantages, rendered the ecclesiastical state more respectable, by having in his hands the government of Florence, together with the wealth of the family of Medici.

Cardinal Wolsey, not disheartened by the disappointment of his ambitious views at the former election, had entertained more sanguine hopes of success on this occasion. Henry wrote to the emperor, reminding him of his engagements to second the pretensions of his minister. But Charles had either amused him with vain hopes which he never intended to gratify, or he judged it impolitic to oppose a candidate who had such a prospect of succeeding as Medici. Wolsey, after all his expectations and endeavours, had the mortification to see a pope elected of such an age, and of so vigorous a constitution, that he could not derive much comfort to himself from the chance of surviving him. This second proof fully convinced Wolsey of the emperor's insincerity, and it excited in him all the resentment which a haughty mind feels on being at once disappointed and deceived; and though Clement endeavoured to soothe his vindictive nature by granting him a commission to be legate in England during life, with such ample powers as vested in him almost the whole papal jurisdiction in that kingdom, the injury he had

now received made such an impression as entirely dissolved the tie which had united him to Charles, and from that moment he meditated revenge. It was necessary, however, to conceal his intention from his master, and to suspend the execution of it until, by a dexterous improvement of the incidents which might occur, he should be able gradually to alienate the king's affections from the emperor. For this reason he was so far from expressing any uneasiness on account of the repulse which he had met with, that he abounded on every occasion, private as well as public, in declarations of his high satisfaction with Clement's promotion.

Henry had during the campaign fulfilled, with great sincerity, whatever he was bound to perform by the league against France, though more slowly than he could have wished. His thoughtless profusion, and total neglect of economy, reduced him often to great straits for money. The commons having refused at this time to grant him the supplies which he demanded, he had recourse to the ample and almost unlimited prerogative which the kings of England then possessed, and by a violent and unusual exertion of it, raised the money he wanted. This, however, wasted so much time, that it was late in the season before his army, under the duke of Suffolk, could take the field. Being joined by a considerable body of Flemings, Suffolk marched into Picardy; and Francis, from his extravagant eagerness to recover the Milanese, having left that frontier almost unguarded, he penetrated as far as the banks of the river Oyse, within eleven leagues of Paris, filling that capital with consternation. But the arrival of some troops detached by the king, who was still at Lyons; the active gallantry of the French officers, who allowed the allies no respite night or day; the rigour of a most unnatural season, together with scarcity of provisions, compelled Suffolk to retire; and La Tramouille, who commanded in those parts, had the glory not only of having checked the progress of a formidable

army with a handful of men, but of driving them with ignominy out of the French territories.

The emperor's attempts upon Burgundy and Guienne were not more fortunate, though in both these provinces Francis was equally ill prepared to resist them. The conduct and valour of his generals supplied his want of foresight; the Germans, who had made an irruption into one of these provinces, and the Spaniards, who attacked the other, were repulsed with great disgrace.

Thus ended the year 1523, during which Francis's good fortune and success had been such as gave all Europe a high idea of his power and resources. He had discovered and disconcerted a dangerous conspiracy, the author of which he had driven into exile almost without an attendant; he had rendered abortive all the schemes of the powerful confederacy formed against him; he had protected his dominions when attacked on three different sides; and though his army in the Milanese had not made such progress as might have been expected from its superiority to the enemy in number, he had recovered, and still kept possession of, one-half of that duchy.

The ensuing year opened with events more disastrous to France. Fontarabia was lost by the cowardice or treachery of its governor. In Italy the allies resolved on an early and vigorous effort in order to dispossess Bonnivet of that part of the Milanese which lies beyond the Tessino. Clement, who under the pontificates of Leo and Adrian had discovered an implacable enmity to France, began now to view the power which the emperor was daily acquiring in Italy with so much jealousy, that he refused to accede, as his predecessors had done, to the league against Francis, and, forgetting private passions and animosities, laboured with the zeal which became his character, to bring about a reconciliation among the contending parties. But all his endeavours were ineffectual; a numerous army, to which each of the allies furnished their contingent of troops, was as-

sembled at Milan by the beginning of March. Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, took the command of it upon Colonna's death, though the chief direction of military operations was committed to Bourbon and the Marquis de Pescara,—the latter the ablest and most enterprising of the imperial generals; the former inspired by his resentment with new activity and invention, and acquainted so thoroughly with the characters of the French commanders, the genius of their troops, and the strength as well as weakness of their armies, as to be of infinite service to the party which he had joined.

Bonnivet was destitute of troops to oppose this army, and still more of the talents which could render him an equal match for its leaders. After various movements and encounters, described with great accuracy by the contemporary historians, a detail of which would now be equally uninteresting and uninteresting, he was forced to abandon the strong camp in which he had entrenched himself at Biagrassa, and to lead back the shattered remains of his army into France; thus in one short campaign Francis was stripped of all he had possessed in Italy, and left without one ally in that country.

While the war kindled by the emulation of Charles and Francis spread over so many countries of Europe, Germany enjoyed a profound tranquillity, extremely favourable to the Reformation, which continued to make progress daily. During Luther's confinement in his retreat at Wartburg, Carlostadius, one of his disciples, animated with the same zeal, but possessed of less prudence and moderation than his master, began to propagate wild and dangerous opinions, chiefly among the lower people. Encouraged by his exhortations, they rose in several villages of Saxony, broke into the churches with tumultuary violence, and threw down and destroyed the images with which they were adorned. Those irregular and outrageous proceedings were so repugnant to all the elector's cautious maxims, that if they had not received



a timely check, they could hardly have failed of alienating from the reformers a prince no less jealous of his own authority than afraid of giving offence to the emperor and other patrons of the ancient opinions. Luther, sensible of the danger, immediately quitted his retreat without waiting for Frederic's permission, and returned to Wittemberg. Happily for the Reformation, the veneration for his person and authority was still so great, that his appearance alone suppressed that spirit of extravagance which began to seize his party. Carlostadius and his fanatical followers, struck dumb by his rebukes, submitted at once, and declared that they heard the voice of an angel, not of a man.

Before Luther left his retreat he had begun to translate the Bible into the German tongue, an undertaking of no less difficulty than importance, of which he was extremely fond, and for which he was well qualified. He had a competent knowledge of the original languages; a thorough acquaintance with the style and sentiments of the inspired writers; and though his compositions in Latin were rude and barbarous, he was reckoned a great master of the purity of his mother tongue, and could express himself with all the elegance of which it is capable. By his own assiduous application, together with the assistance of Melancthon and several other of his disciples, he finished part of the New Testament in the year 1522; and the publication of it proved more fatal to the church of Rome than that of all his own works. It was read with wonderful avidity and attention by persons of every rank. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the Author of our religion are to the inventions of those priests who pretended to be his vicegerents; and having now in their hand the rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified, by applying it, to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce when they were conformable to the standard, or when they departed from it. The great advantages

arising from Lutner's translation of the Bible encouraged the advocates for reformation in the other countries of Europe to imitate his example, and to publish versions of the Scriptures in their respective languages.

About this time Nuremberg, Francfort, Hamburgh, and several other free cities in Germany, of the first rank, openly embraced the reformed religion, and by the authority of their magistrates abolished the mass and the other superstitious rites of popery. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and prince of Anhalt, became avowed patrons of Luther's opinions, and countenanced the preaching of them among their subjects.

The court of Rome beheld this growing defection with great concern; and Adrian's first care, after his arrival in Italy, had been to deliberate with the cardinals concerning the proper means of putting a stop to it. He considered Luther's invectives against the schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, as little less than blasphemy. At the same time he was as sensible as the reformers themselves of the corruptions of the court of Rome, and viewed them with no less indignation. The brief which he addressed to the diet of the empire assembled at Nuremberg, and the instructions which he gave to Cheregato, the nuncio whom he sent thither, were framed agreeably to those views. On the one hand, he condemned Luther's opinions with more asperity and rancour of expression than Leo had ever used; and severely censured the princes of Germany for suffering him to spread his pernicious tenets, by their neglecting to execute the edict of the diet at Worms. On the other hand he, with great candour, and in the most explicit terms, acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court to be the source from which had flowed most of the evils which the church now felt or dreaded; he promised to exert all his authority towards reforming these abuses, with as much despatch as the nature and inveteracy of the disorders would

admit; and he requested of them to give him their advice with regard to the most effectual means of suppressing that new heresy which had sprung up among them.

The members of the diet, after praising the pope's pious and laudable intentions, excused themselves for not executing the edict of Worms, by alleging that the prodigious increase of Luther's followers, as well as the aversion to the court of Rome among their other subjects on account of its innumerable exactions, rendered such an attempt not only dangerous but impossible. They affirmed that the grievances of Germany, which did not arise from imaginary injuries, but from impositions no less real than intolérable, as his holiness would learn from a catalogue of them which they intended to lay before him, called now for some new and efficacious remedy; and in their opinion, the only remedy adequate to the disease, or which afforded them any hopes of seeing the church restored to soundness and vigour, was a general council.

The nuncio, more artful than his master, and better acquainted with the political views and interests of the Roman court, was startled at the proposition of a council, and easily foresaw how dangerous such an assembly might prove, at a time when many openly denied the papal authority, and the reverence and submission yielded to it visibly declined among all. For that reason he employed his utmost address in order to prevail on the members of the diet to proceed themselves with greater severity against the Lutheran heresy, and to relinquish their proposal concerning a general council to be held in Germany. They, perceiving the nuncio to be more solicitous about the interests of the Roman court than the tranquillity of the empire or purity of the church, remained inflexible, and continued to prepare the catalogue of their grievances to be presented to the pope. The nuncio, that he might not be the bearer of a remonstrance so disagreeable to his court, left

Nuremberg abruptly, without taking leave of the diet.

The secular princes accordingly (for the ecclesiastics, although they gave no opposition, did not think it decent to join with them) drew up the list (so famous in the German annals) of a hundred grievances, which the empire imputed to the iniquitous dominion of the papal see. And instead of such severities against Luther and his followers as the nuncio had recommended, the *recess* or edict of the diet contained only a general injunction to all ranks of men to wait with patience for the determinations of the council which was to be assembled, and in the mean time not to publish any new opinions contrary to the established doctrines of the church; together with an admonition to all preachers to abstain from matters of controversy in their discourses to the people, and to confine themselves to the plain and instructive truths of religion.

The reformers derived great advantage from the transactions of this diet, as they afforded them the fullest and most authentic evidence that gross corruptions prevailed in the court of Rome, and that the empire was loaded by the clergy with insupportable burdens. With regard to the former, they had now the testimony of the pope himself that their invectives and accusations were not malicious or ill-founded. As to the latter, the representations of the Germanic body, in an assembly where the patrons of the new opinions were far from being the most numerous or powerful, had pointed out as the chief grievances of the empire, those very practices of the Romish church against which Luther and his disciples were accustomed to declaim. Accordingly, in all their controversial writings after this period, they often appealed to Adrian's declaration, and to the hundred grievances, in confirmation of whatever they advanced concerning the dissolute manners or insatiable ambition and rapaciousness of the papal court.



At Rome Adrian's conduct was considered as a proof of the most childish simplicity and imprudence. Men trained up amidst the artifices and corruptions of the papal court, and accustomed to judge of actions not by what was just but by what was useful, were astonished at a pontiff who, departing from the wise maxims of his predecessors, acknowledged disorders which he ought to have concealed ; and, forgetting his own dignity, asked advice of those to whom he was entitled to prescribe. By such an excess of impolitic sincerity, they were afraid that instead of reclaiming the enemies of the church, he would render them more presumptuous, and instead of extinguishing heresy, would weaken the foundations of the papal power, or stop the chief sources from which wealth flowed into the church. For this reason the cardinals and other ecclesiastics of greatest eminence in the papal court industriously opposed all his schemes of reformation, and by throwing objections and difficulties in his way, endeavoured to retard or defeat the execution of them. Adrian, amazed, on the one hand, at the obstinacy of the Lutherans, disgusted, on the other, with the manners and maxims of the Italians, and finding himself unable to correct either the one or the other, often lamented his own situation, and often looked back with pleasure on that period of his life when he was only dean of Louvain, a more humble but happier station, in which little was expected from him, and there was nothing to frustrate his good intentions.

Clement VII., his successor, excelled Adrian as much in the arts of government as he was inferior to him in purity of life or uprightness of intention. He was animated not only with the aversion which all popes naturally bear to a council, but having gained his own election by means very uncanonical, he was afraid of an assembly that might subject it to a scrutiny which it could not stand. He determined, therefore, by every possible mean. to elude the

demands of the Germans, both with respect to the calling of a council, and reforming abuses in the papal court, which the rashness and incapacity of his predecessor had brought upon him. For this purpose he made choice of Cardinal Campeggio, an artful man, often intrusted by his predecessors with negotiations of importance, as his nuncio to the diet of the empire assembled again at Nuremberg.

Campeggio, without taking any notice of what had passed in the last meeting, exhorted the diet, in a long discourse, to execute the edict of Worms with vigour, as the only effectual means of suppressing Luther's doctrines. The diet in return desired to know the pope's intentions concerning the council, and the redress of the hundred grievances. The former the nuncio endeavoured to elude by general and unmeaning declarations of the pope's resolution to pursue such measures as would be for the greatest good of the church. With regard to the latter, as Adrian was dead before the catalogue of grievances reached Rome, and of consequence it had not been regularly laid before the present pope, Campeggio took advantage of this circumstance to decline making any definitive answer to them in Clement's name; though at the same time he observed, that their catalogue of grievances contained many particulars extremely indecent and undutiful, and that the publishing it by their own authority was highly disrespectful to the Roman see. In the end he renewed his demand of their proceeding with vigour against Luther and his adherents. But though an ambassador from the emperor, who was at that time very solicitous to gain the pope, warmly seconded the nuncio, with many professions of his master's zeal for the honour and dignity of the papal see, the *recess* of the diet was conceived in terms of almost the same import with the former, without enjoining any additional severity against Luther and his party.

Before he left Germany, Campeggio, in order to

amuse and soothe the people, published certain articles for the amendment of some disorders and abuses which prevailed among the inferior clergy; but this partial reformation, which fell so far short of the expectations of the Lutherans and of the demands of the diet, gave no satisfaction, and produced little effect. The nuncio, with a cautious hand, tenderly lopped a few branches; the Germans aimed a deeper blow, and by striking at the root wished to exterminate the evil.

#### BOOK IV.

THE expulsion of the French both out of the Milanese and the republic of Genoa, was considered by the Italians as the termination of the war between Charles and Francis; and as they began immediately to be apprehensive of the emperor, when they saw no power remaining in Italy capable either to control or oppose him, they longed ardently for the re-establishment of peace. Having procured the restoration of Sforza to his paternal dominions, which had been their chief motive for entering into confederacy with Charles, they plainly discovered their intention to contribute no longer towards increasing the emperor's superiority over his rival, which was already become the object of their jealousy. The pope especially, whose natural timidity increased his suspicions of Charles's designs, endeavoured by his remonstrances to inspire him with moderation and incline him to peace.

But the emperor, intoxicated with success, and urged on by his own ambition no less than by Bourbon's desire of revenge, contemned Clement's admonitions, and declared his resolution of ordering his army to pass the Alps and to invade Provence, a part of his rival's dominions where, as he least dreaded an attack, he was least prepared to resist it. His most experienced ministers dissuaded him from

undertaking such an enterprise with a feeble army and an exhausted treasury; but he relied so much on having obtained the concurrence of the king of England, and on the hopes which Bourbon, with the confidence and credulity natural to exiles, entertained of being joined by a numerous body of his partisans as soon as the imperial troops should enter France, that he persisted obstinately in the measure. Henry undertook to furnish 100,000 ducats towards defraying the expense of the expedition during the first month, and had it in his choice either to continue the payment of that sum monthly, or to invade Picardy before the end of July with an army capable of acting with vigour. The emperor engaged to attack Guienne at the same time with a considerable body of men; and if these enterprises proved successful, they agreed that Bourbon, besides the territories which he had lost, should be put in possession of Provence, with the title of king, and should do homage to Henry, as the lawful king of France, for his new dominions. Of all the parts of this extensive but extravagant project, the invasion of Provence was the only one which was executed. For although Bourbon with a scrupulous delicacy altogether unexpected after the part which he had acted, positively refused to acknowledge Henry's title to the crown of France, and thereby absolved him from any obligation to promote the enterprise, Charles's eagerness to carry his own plan into execution did not in any degree abate. The army which he employed for that purpose amounted only to 18,000 men, the command of which was given to the marquis de Pescara, with instructions to pay the greatest deference to Bourbon's advice in all his operations. Pescara passed the Alps without opposition, and entering Provence, laid siege to Marseilles. Bourbon had advised him rather to march towards Lyons, in the neighbourhood of which city his territories were situated, and where of course his influence was most extensive; but the



emperor was so desirous to get possession of a port which would at all times secure him an easy entrance into France, that by his authority he overruled the constable's opinion, and directed Pescara to make the reduction of Marseilles his chief object.

Francis laid waste the adjacent country, in order to render it more difficult for the enemy to subsist their army; razed the suburbs of the city, strengthened its fortifications, and threw into it a numerous garrison under the command of brave and experienced officers, so that all the efforts of Pescara's military skill, and of Bourbon's activity and revenge, were rendered abortive. Meanwhile, he assembled a powerful army under the walls of Avignon, and no sooner began to advance towards Marseilles than the imperial troops, exhausted by the fatigues of a siege which had lasted forty days, weakened by diseases, and almost destitute of provisions, retired with precipitation towards Italy.

The Milanese had been left altogether without defence; it was not impossible to reach that country before Pescara, with his shattered forces, could arrive there; or if fear should add speed to their retreat, they were in no condition to make head against the fresh and numerous troops of Francis; and Milan would now, as in former instances, submit without resistance to a bold invader.

The French passed the Alps at mount Cenis; and as their success depended on despatch, they advanced with the greatest diligence. Pescara, who had been obliged to take a longer and more difficult rout by Monaco and Final, was soon informed of their intention; and being sensible that nothing but the presence of his troops could save the Milanese, marched with such rapidity, that he reached Alva on the same day that the French arrived at VerCELLI. Francis, instructed by Bonaparte's error in the former campaign, advanced directly towards Milan, where the unexpected approach of an enemy so powerful occasioned such consternation and disorder

that although Pescara entered the city with some of his best troops, he found that the defence of it could not be undertaken with any probability of success ; and having thrown a garrison into the citadel, retired through one gate, while the French were admitted at another.

These brisk motions of the French monarch disconcerted all the schemes of defence which the imperialists had formed. Though Charles had, at this time, no other army but that which was employed in Lombardy, which did not amount to 16,000 men, even this small body of troops was in want of pay, of ammunition, of provisions, and of clothing. In this emergency Lannoy, by mortgaging the revenues of Naples, procured some money, which was immediately applied towards providing the army with whatever was most necessary. Pescara, who was beloved and almost adored by the Spanish troops, exhorted them to shew the world, by their engaging to serve the emperor in that dangerous exigency without making any immediate demand of pay, that they were animated with sentiments of honour very different from those of mercenary soldiers ; to which proposition that gallant body of men, with an unexampled generosity, gave their consent. Bourbon, having raised a considerable sum by pawning his jewels, set out for Germany, where his influence was great, that by his presence he might hasten the levying of troops for the imperial service.

Francis, instead of pursuing the enemy, who retired to Lodi on the Adda, an untenable post, which Pescara had resolved to abandon on the approach of the French, laid siege to Pavia on the Tessino. But the imperial generals had thrown into the town a garrison composed of 6000 veterans, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, an officer of high rank ; of great experience ; of a patient but enterprising courage ; fertile in resources ; ambitious of distinguishing himself ; and capable, for that reason, as well as from his having been long accustomed both

to obey and to command, of suffering or performing any thing in order to procure success.

Francis prosecuted the siege with obstinacy equal to the rashness with which he had undertaken it; while Lannoy and Pescara, unable to obstruct his operations, were obliged to remain in such an ignominious state of inaction, that a pasquinade was published at Rome, offering a reward to any person who could find the imperial army, lost in the month of October in the mountains between France and Lombardy, and which had not been heard of since that time.

Leyva interrupted the approaches of the French by frequent and furious sallies. Behind the breaches made by their artillery he erected new works, which appeared to be scarcely inferior in strength to the original fortifications. He repulsed the besiegers in all their assaults; and by his own example brought not only the garrison, but the inhabitants, to bear the most severe fatigues and to encounter the greatest dangers without murmuring. The rigour of the season conspired with his endeavours in retarding the progress of the French. Francis attempting to become master of the town by diverting the course of the Tessino, which is its chief defence on one side, a sudden inundation of the river destroyed, in one day, the labour of many weeks, and swept away all the mounds which his army had raised with infinite toil, as well as at great expense.

Clement having concluded a treaty of neutrality with the king of France, in which the republic of Florence was included, Francis, by this transaction, deprived the emperor of his two most powerful allies, and at the same time having secured a passage for his own troops through their territories, formed a scheme of attacking the kingdom of Naples, hoping either to overrun that country, which was left altogether without defence, or that at least such an unexpected invasion would oblige the viceroy to recall part of the imperial army out of the

Milanese. For this purpose he ordered 6000 men to march under the command of John Stuart, duke of Albany. But Pescara, foreseeing that the effect of this diversion would depend entirely upon the operations of the armies in the Milanese, persuaded Lannoy to disregard Albany's motions, and to bend his whole force against the king himself; so that Francis not only weakened his army very unseasonably by this great detachment, but incurred the reproach of engaging too rashly in chimerical and extravagant projects.

By this time the garrison of Pavia was reduced to extremity; their ammunition and provisions began to fail; the Germans, of whom it was chiefly composed, having received no pay for seven months, threatened to deliver the town into the enemy's hands, and could hardly be restrained from mutiny by all Leyva's address and authority. The imperial generals, who were no strangers to his situation, saw the necessity of marching without loss of time to his relief. This they had now in their power: 12,000 Germans, whom the zeal and activity of Bourbon taught to move with unusual rapidity, had entered Lombardy under his command, and rendered the imperial army nearly equal to that of the French, greatly diminished by the absence of the body under Albany, as well as by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season.

They advanced immediately towards the French camp. On the first intelligence of their approach, Francis called a council of war to deliberate what course he ought to take. All his officers of greatest experience were unanimous in advising him to retire, and to decline a battle with an enemy who courted it from despair. But in opposition to them Bonniviet insisted on the necessity of fighting the imperialists rather than relinquish an undertaking on the success of which the king's future fame depended, and Francis determined to wait for the imperialists before the walls of Pavia.



The imperial generals found the French so strongly intrenched, that they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them; nor were they able to resist the first efforts of the French valour, and their firmest battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara falling on their cavalry with the imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal; and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to save his life at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. Among these was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The king, exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of farther resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered together with Bourbon into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have

afforded such matter of triumph to his traitorous subject; and calling for Lannoy, who happened likewise to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him; which he, kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received with profound respect; and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects.

Ten thousand men fell on this day, and among them many noblemen of the highest distinction. Not a few were taken prisoners, of whom the most illustrious was Henry D'Albert, the unfortunate king of Navarre. A small body of the rear-guard made its escape under the command of the duke of Alençon; the feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired without being pursued, by another road; and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

Lannoy, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmost attention. He was solicitous not only to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but afraid that his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the strong castle of Pizzichitoné, near Cremona, committing him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and of strict honour, but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous vigilance which such a trust required.

Charles received the account of this signal and unexpected success that had crowned his arms, with a moderation which, if it had been real, would have done him more honour than the greatest victory. Without uttering one word expressive of exultation or of intemperate joy, he retired immediately into

his chapel, and having spent an hour in offering up his thanksgivings to Heaven, returned to the presence-chamber, which by that time was filled with grandees and foreign ambassadors, assembled in order to congratulate him. He had, however, already begun to form schemes in his own mind which little suited such external appearances.

Meanwhile France was filled with consternation. The king himself had early transmitted an account of the rout of Pavia, in a letter to his mother, delivered by Pennalosa, which contained only these words:—‘Madam, all is lost except our honour.’ But the great abilities of Louise the regent saved the kingdom. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman so remarkable for her maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight and exerted all the activity of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by her example no less than by her words, with such zeal in defence of their country as its present situation required. She collected the remains of the army which had served in Italy, ransomed the prisoners, paid the arrears, and put them in a condition to take the field. She levied new troops, provided for the security of the frontiers, and raised sums sufficient for defraying these extraordinary expenses. Her chief care, however, was to appease the resentment or to gain the friendship of the king of England; and from that quarter the first ray of comfort broke in upon the French.

Henry had never dreamt of any event so decisive and so fatal as the victory of Pavia, which seemed not only to have broken but to have annihilated the power of Francis; so that the prospect of the sudden and entire revolution which this would occasion in the political system, filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was sensible that if Charles were permitted to add any considerable part of France to the vast dominions of which he

was already master, his neighbourhood would be much more formidable to England than that of the ancient French kings; while, at the same time, the proper balance on the continent, to which England owed both its safety and importance, would be entirely lost. Concern for the situation of the unhappy monarch co-operated with these political considerations; his gallant behaviour in the battle of Pavia had excited a high degree of admiration which never fails of augmenting sympathy; and Henry, naturally susceptible of generous sentiments, was fond of appearing as the deliverer of a vanquished enemy from a state of captivity. The passions of the English minister seconded the inclinations of the monarch. Wolsey, who had not forgotten the disappointment of his hopes in two successive conclaves, which he imputed chiefly to the emperor, thought this a proper opportunity of taking revenge; and Louise, courting the friendship of England with such flattering submissions as were no less agreeable to the king than to the cardinal, Henry gave her secret assurances that he would not lend his aid towards oppressing France in its present helpless state, and obliged her to promise that she would not consent to dismember the kingdom even in order to procure her son's liberty.

But as Henry's connexions with the emperor made it necessary to act in such a manner as to save appearances, he ordered public rejoicings to be made in his dominions for the success of the imperial arms; and, as if he had been eager to seize the present opportunity of ruining the French monarchy, he sent ambassadors to Madrid to congratulate with Charles upon his victory; to put him in mind that he, as his ally, engaged in one common cause, was entitled to partake of the fruits of it; and to require that, in compliance with the terms of their confederacy, he would invade Guienne with a powerful army, in order to give him possession of that province. At the same time he offered to send the



princess Mary into Spain or the Low Countries, that she might be educated under the emperor's direction, until the conclusion of the marriage agreed on between them; and in return for that mark of his confidence, he insisted that Francis should be delivered to him, in consequence of that article in the treaty of Bruges, whereby each of the contracting parties was bound to surrender all usurpers to him whose rights they had invaded.

It was among the Italian states, however, that the victory at Pavia occasioned the greatest alarm and terror. That balance of power on which they relied for their security, and which it had been the constant object of all their negotiations and refinements to maintain, was destroyed in a moment. Clement, instead of pursuing the measures which he had concerted with the Venetians for securing the liberty of Italy, was so intimidated by Lannoy's threats, or overcome by his promises, that he entered into a separate treaty, binding himself to advance a considerable sum to the emperor, in return for certain emoluments which he was to receive from him. The money was instantly paid; but Charles afterwards refused to ratify the treaty; and the pope remained exposed at once to infamy and to ridicule: to the former, because he had deserted the public cause for his private interest; to the latter, because he had been a loser by that unworthy action.

Soon after the defeat of the French army, the German troops, which had defended Pavia with such meritorious courage and perseverance, growing insolent upon the fame that they had acquired, and impatient of relying any longer on fruitless promises, with which they had been so often amused, rendered themselves masters of the town, with a resolution to keep possession of it as a security for the payment of their arrears; and the rest of the army discovered a much stronger inclination to assist than to punish the mutineers. By dividing among them the money

exacted from the pope, Lannoy quieted the tumult, though not long after he was obliged to dismiss all the Germans and Italians in the imperial service.

Charles determined to set the highest price upon Francis's freedom ; and having ordered the count de Roeux to visit the captive king in his name, he instructed him to propose the following articles as the conditions on which he would grant him his liberty : That he should restore Burgundy to the emperor, from whose ancestors it had been unjustly wrested ; that he should surrender Provence and Dauphiné, that they might be erected into an independent kingdom for the constable Bourbon ; that he should make full satisfaction to the King of England for all his claims, and finally renounce the pretensions of France to Naples, Milan, or any other territory in Italy. When Francis, who had hitherto flattered himself that he should be treated by the emperor with the generosity becoming one great prince towards another, heard these rigorous conditions, he was so transported with indignation, that drawing his dagger hastily, he cried out, ' Twere better that a king should die thus.' Alarcon, alarmed at his vehemence, laid hold on his hand ; but though he soon recovered greater composure, he still declared, in the most solemn manner, that he would rather remain a prisoner during life than purchase liberty by such ignominious concessions.

Francis persuaded himself that the conditions which Roeux had proposed did not flow originally from Charles himself, but were dictated by the rigorous policy of his Spanish council ; he offered to visit him in Spain, and was willing to be carried thither as a spectacle to that haughty nation. Lannoy employed all his address to confirm him in these sentiments, and Francis was so eager on a scheme which seemed to open some prospect of liberty, that he furnished the galleys necessary for conveying him to Spain, Charles being at this time unable to fit out a squadron for that purpose. The viceroy, without

communicating his intentions either to Bourbon or Pescara, conducted his prisoner towards Genoa, under pretence of transporting him by sea to Naples ; though, soon after they set sail, he ordered the pilots to steer directly for Spain ; but the wind happening to carry them near the French coast, the unfortunate monarch had a full prospect of his own dominions, towards which he cast many a sorrowful and desiring look. They landed, however, in a few days at Barcelona, and soon after Francis was lodged by the emperor's command, in the Alcazar of Madrid, under the care of the vigilant Alarcon, who guarded him with as much circumspection as ever.

A few days after Francis's arrival at Madrid, and when he began to be sensible of his having relied without foundation on the emperor's generosity, Henry VIII. concluded a treaty with the regent of France, which afforded him some hope of liberty from another quarter. Henry's extravagant demands had been received at Madrid with that neglect which they deserved. Wolsey, no less haughty than his master, was highly irritated at the emperor's discontinuing his wonted caresses and professions of friendship to himself. These slight offences, added to the weighty considerations formerly mentioned, induced Henry to enter into a defensive alliance with Louise, in which all the differences between him and her son were adjusted ; at the same time he engaged that he would employ his best offices in order to procure the deliverance of his new ally from a state of captivity.

While the open defection of such a powerful confederate affected Charles with deep concern, a secret conspiracy was carrying on in Italy, which threatened him with consequences still more fatal. The restless and intriguing genius of Moronè, chancellor of Milan, gave rise to this. His revenge had been amply gratified by the expulsion of the French out of Italy, and his vanity no less soothed by the re-establishment of Sforza, to whose interest he had

attached himself, in the duchy of Milan. The delays, however, and evasions of the imperial court in granting Sforza the investiture of his new-acquired territories, had long alarmed Moronè; these were repeated so often, and with such apparent artifice, as became a full proof to his suspicious mind that the emperor intended to strip his master of that rich country which he had conquered in his name.

Bourbon and Pescara were equally enraged at Lannoy's carrying the French king into Spain without their knowledge. It was on this disgust of Pescara that Moronè founded his whole system. The cantonment of the Spanish troops on the frontier of the Milanese gave occasion to many interviews between them, in which the latter took care frequently to turn the conversation to the transactions subsequent to the battle of Pavia, a subject upon which the marquis always entered willingly and with passion, and Moronè, observing his resentment to be uniformly violent, artfully pointed out and aggravated every circumstance that could increase its fury. He began to insinuate that now was the time to be avenged, and to acquire immortal renown as the deliverer of his country from the oppression of strangers; that the attempt was no less practicable than glorious, it being in his power so to disperse the Spanish infantry, the only body of the emperor's troops that remained in Italy, through the villages of the Milanese, that in one night they might be destroyed by the people, who, having suffered much from their exactions and insolence, would gladly undertake this service; that he might then, without opposition, take possession of the throne of Naples, the station destined for him, and a reward not unworthy the restorer of liberty to Italy; that the pope, of whom that kingdom held, and whose predecessors had disposed of it on many former occasions, would willingly grant him the right of investiture; that the Venetians, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, to whom he had communicated the scheme, together



with the French, would be the guarantees of his right; that the Neapolitans would naturally prefer the government of one of their countrymen whom they loved and admired, to that odious dominion of strangers, to which they had been so long subjected; and that the emperor, astonished at a blow so unexpected, would find that he had neither troops nor money to resist such a powerful confederacy.

Pescara, amazed at the boldness of the scheme, listened attentively to Moronè, and at first resolved to execute it; but either shocked at the treachery of the action that he was going to commit, or despairing of its success, he began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the engagements which he had come under. The indisposition of Sforza, who happened at that time to be taken ill of a distemper which was thought mortal, confirmed his resolution, and determined him to make known the whole conspiracy to the emperor, deeming it more prudent to expect the duchy of Milan from him as the reward of this discovery, than to aim at a kingdom to be purchased by a series of crimes. The emperor, who had already received full information concerning the conspiracy from other hands, seemed to be highly pleased with Pescara's fidelity, and commanded him to continue his intrigues for some time with the pope and Sforza, both that he might discover their intentions more fully, and be able to convict them of the crime with greater certainty. Pescara durst not decline that dishonourable office, though, considering the abilities of the persons with whom he had to deal, the part was scarcely less difficult than base. Moronè, relying with full confidence on his sincerity, visited him at Novara, in order to put the last hand to their machinations. Pescara received him in an apartment where Antonio de Leyva was placed behind the tapestry, that he might overhear and bear witness to their conversation; as Moronè was about to take leave, that officer suddenly appeared, and to his astonishment arrested him prisoner in the emperor's name. He

was conducted to the castle of Pavia; and Pescara, who had so lately been his accomplice had now the assurance to interrogate him as his judge. At the same time the emperor declared Sforza to have forfeited all right to the duchy of Milan by his engaging in a conspiracy against the sovereign of whom he held; Pescara, by his command, seized on every place in the Milanese except the castles of Cremona and Milan, which the unfortunate duke attempting to defend, were closely blockaded by the imperial troops.

Charles, by his mode of treating Francis, seems to have acted with the mercenary art of a corsair, who, by the rigorous usage of his prisoners, endeavours to draw from them a higher price for their ransom. The captive king was confined in an old castle, under a keeper whose formal austerity of manners rendered his vigilance still more disgusting. He was allowed no exercise but that of riding on a mule, surrounded with armed guards on horseback. Charles, on pretence of its being necessary to attend the cortes assembled in Toledo, had gone to reside in that city, and suffered several weeks to elapse without visiting Francis, though he solicited an interview with the most pressing and submissive importunity. So many indignities made a deep impression on a high-spirited prince; he began to lose all relish for his usual amusements; his natural gaiety of temper forsook him; and after languishing for some time he was seized with a dangerous fever, during the violence of which he complained constantly of the unexpected and unprincely rigour with which he had been treated, often exclaiming, that now the emperor would have the satisfaction of his dying a prisoner in his hands, without having once deigned to see his face. The physicians at last despaired of his life, and informed the emperor that they saw no hope of his recovery, unless he were gratified with regard to that point on which he seemed to be so strongly bent. Charles, solicitous to preserve a life with which all his prospects of farther advantage from the victory of Pavia

must have terminated, set out for Madrid to visit his prisoner. The interview was short; Francis being too weak to bear a long conversation. Charles accosted him in terms full of affection and respect, and gave him such promises of speedy deliverance and princely treatment, as would have reflected the greatest honour upon him if they had flowed from another source. Francis grasped at them with the eagerness natural in his situation; and cheered with this gleam of hope, began to revive from that moment, recovering rapidly his wonted health.

Bourbon arriving in Spain about this time, Charles, who had so long refused to visit the king of France, received his rebellious subject with the most studied respect; thus adding to the insult already offered to the unfortunate monarch, which he felt in a very sensible manner. It afforded him some consolation, however, to observe that the sentiments of the Spaniards differed widely from those of their sovereign. That generous people detested Bourbon's crime. Notwithstanding his great talents and important services, they shunned all intercourse with him, to such a degree, that Charles having desired the marquis de Villena to permit Bourbon to reside in his palace while the court remained at Toledo, he politely replied, 'That he could not refuse gratifying his sovereign in that request;' but added, with a Castilian dignity of mind, that the emperor must not be surprised if, the moment the constable departed, he should burn to the ground a house which, having been polluted by the presence of a traitor, became an unfit habitation for a man of honour.

Charles himself, nevertheless, seemed to have it much at heart to reward Bourbon's services in a signal manner. He insisted, in the first place, on the accomplishment of the emperor's promise of giving him in marriage his sister Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the honour of which alliance had been one of his chief inducements to rebel against his lawful sovereign. But by the death of Pescara, who, at

the age of thirty-six, left behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest generals and ablest politicians of that century, the command of the army in Italy became vacant, and Charles persuaded Bourbon to accept the office of general in chief there, together with a grant of the duchy of Milan, forfeited by Sforza; and in return for these to relinquish all hopes of marrying the queen of Portugal.

The chief obstacle that stood in the way of Francis's liberty, was the emperor's continuing to insist so peremptorily on the restitution of Burgundy as a preliminary to that event. The duchess of Alençon, the French king's sister, whom Charles permitted to visit her brother in his confinement, employed all her address in order to procure his liberty. Henry of England interposed his good offices to the same purpose; but both with so little success, that Francis in despair took suddenly the resolution of resigning his crown, with all its rights and prerogatives, to his son the dauphin, determining rather to end his days in prison than to purchase his freedom by concessions unworthy of a king. The deed for this purpose he signed with legal formality in Madrid, empowering his sister to carry it into France, that it might be registered in all the parliaments of the kingdom; and at the same time intimating his intention to the emperor, he desired him to name the place of his confinement, and to assign him a proper number of attendants during the remainder of his days.

About the same time, one of the king of Navarre's domestics happened, by an extraordinary exertion of fidelity, courage, and address, to procure his master an opportunity of escaping from the prison in which he had been confined ever since the battle of Pavia. This convinced the emperor that the most vigilant attention of his officers might be eluded by the ingenuity or boldness of Francis or his attendants, and one unlucky hour might deprive him of all the advantages which he had been so solicitous to obtain. By these considerations he was induced to abate



somewhat of his former demands. On the other hand, Francis's impatience under confinement daily increased; and having received certain intelligence of a powerful league forming against his rival in Italy, he grew more compliant with regard to his concessions, trusting that, if he could once obtain his liberty, he would soon be in a condition to resume whatever he had yielded.

Such being the views and sentiments of the two monarchs, the treaty which procured Francis his liberty was signed at Madrid, on the 14th of January, 1526. The article with regard to Burgundy, which had hitherto created the greatest difficulty, was compromised, Francis engaging to restore that duchy with all its dependencies in full sovereignty to the emperor, and Charles consenting that this restitution should not be made until the king was set at liberty. By this treaty Charles flattered himself that he had not only effectually humbled his rival, but that he had taken such precautions as would for ever prevent his re-attaining any formidable degree of power. But Francis, a few hours before he signed it, assembled such of his counsellors as were then at Madrid, and having exacted from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he made a long enumeration, in their presence, of the dishonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour, which the emperor had employed in order to insnare or intimidate him. For that reason he took a formal protest in the hands of notaries, that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void.

About a month after the signing of the treaty, Francis took leave of the emperor. He was escorted by a body of horse under the command of Alarcon, who, as the king drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. When he arrived at the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, Lautrec appeared on the opposite bank with a guard of horse equal in number

to Alarcon's. An empty bark was moored in the middle of the stream; the attendants drew up in order on the opposite banks; at the same instant Lannoy, with eight gentlemen, put off from the Spanish, and Lautrec with the same number from the French, side of the river; the former had the king in his boat; the latter, the dauphin and duke of Orleans, the two sons of Francis, who, it had been agreed, should be delivered as hostages to the emperor; they met in the empty vessel; the exchange was made in a moment: Francis, after a short embrace of his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat and reached the French shore. He mounted at that instant a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and with a joyful voice crying aloud several times, 'I am yet a king,' galloped full speed to St. John de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne. This event, no less impatiently desired by the French nation than by their monarch, happened on the 18th of March, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia.

Soon after the emperor had taken leave of Francis, and permitted him to begin his journey towards his own dominions, he set out for Seville, in order to solemnize his marriage with Isabella, the daughter of Emanuel the late king of Portugal, and the sister of John III. who had succeeded him in the throne of that kingdom. The Portuguese, fond of this new connexion with the first monarch in Christendom, granted him an extraordinary dowry with Isabella, amounting to 900,000 crowns, a sum which, from the situation of his affairs at that juncture, was of no small consequence to the emperor. The marriage was celebrated with that splendour and gaiety which became a great and youthful prince. Charles lived with Isabella in perfect harmony, and treated her on all occasions with much distinction and regard.

During these transactions, Charles could hardly give any attention to the affairs of Germany, though

it was torn in pieces by commotions which threatened the most dangerous consequences. The grievances of the peasants under the feudal institutions multiplying continually, they ran to arms, in the year 1526, with the most frantic rage. Their first appearance was near Ulm in Suabia. The peasants in the adjacent country flocked to their standard with the ardour and impatience natural to men who, having groaned long under oppression, beheld at last some prospect of deliverance; and the contagion spreading from province to province, reached almost every part of Germany. Wherever they came they plundered the monasteries, wasted the lands of their superiors, razed their castles, and massacred without mercy all persons of noble birth who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands. Having intimidated their oppressors, as they imagined, by the violence of these proceedings, they drew up and published a memorial containing all their demands, and declared, that while arms were in their hands they would either persuade or oblige the nobles to give them full satisfaction with regard to these.

Many of them were extremely reasonable, and being urged by such formidable numbers, should have met with some redress. But those unwieldy bodies, assembled in different places, had neither union, nor conduct, nor vigour. Being led by persons of the lowest rank, without skill in war or knowledge of what was necessary for accomplishing their designs, all their exploits were distinguished only by a brutal and unmeaning fury. To oppose this the princes and nobles of Suabia and the Lower Rhine raised such of their vassals as still continued faithful, and attacking some of the mutineers with open force, and others by surprise, cut to pieces or dispersed all who infested those provinces; so that the peasants, after ruining the open country, and losing upwards of 20,000 of their associates in the field, were obliged to return to their habitations.

with less hope than ever of relief from their grievances.

These commotions happened at first in provinces of Germany where Luther's opinions had made little progress; and being excited wholly by political causes, had no connexion with the disputed points in religion. But the frenzy reached at last those countries in which the Reformation was established, derived new strength from circumstances peculiar to them, and rose to a still greater pitch of extravagance.

No sooner did the spirit of revolt break out in Thuringia, a province subject to the elector of Saxony, the inhabitants of which were mostly converts to Lutheranism, than it assumed a new and more dangerous form. Thomas Muncer, one of Luther's disciples, having established himself in that country, had acquired a wonderful ascendant over the minds of the people. He propagated among them the wildest and most enthusiastic notions, but such as tended manifestly to inspire them with boldness and lead them to sedition. 'As all men,' he said, 'are equal in the eye of God, let them return to that condition of equality in which he formed them, and having all things in common, let them live together like brethren, without any marks of subordination or pre-eminence.'

To aim at nothing more than abridging the power of the nobility, was now considered as a trifling and partial reformation, not worth the contending for; it was proposed to level every distinction among mankind, and by abolishing property, to reduce them to their natural state of equality, in which all should receive their subsistence from one common stock. Muncer assured them that the design was approved of by Heaven, and that the Almighty had in a dream ascertained him of its success. The peasants set about the execution of it, not only with the rage which animated those of their order in other parts



of Germany, but with the ardour which enthusiasm inspires. They deposed the magistrates in all the cities of which they were masters; seized the lands of the nobles, and obliged such of them as they got into their hands to put on the dress common, worn by peasants, and instead of their former titles, to be satisfied with the appellation given to people in the lowest class of life. Great numbers engaged in this wild undertaking; but Muncer, their leader and their prophet, was destitute of the abilities necessary for conducting it. He had all the extravagance but not the courage which enthusiasts usually possess. It was with difficulty he could be persuaded to take the field; and though he soon drew together 8000 men, he suffered himself to be surrounded by a body of cavalry under the command of the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick. These princes, unwilling to shed the blood of their deluded subjects, sent a young nobleman to their camp, with the offer of a general pardon, if they would immediately lay down their arms and deliver up the authors of the sedition. Muncer, alarmed at this, began to harangue his followers with his usual vehemence, exhorting them not to trust these deceitful promises of their oppressors, nor to desert the cause of God and of Christian liberty.

But the sense of present danger making a deeper impression on the peasants than his eloquence, confusion and terror were visible in every face, when a rainbow, which was the emblem that the mutineers had painted on their colours, happening to appear in the clouds, Muncer, with admirable presence of mind, laid hold of that incident, and suddenly raising his eyes and hands towards heaven,—‘Behold,’ cries he, with an elevated voice, ‘the sign which God has given. There is the pledge of your safety, and a token that the wicked shall be destroyed.’ The fanatical multitude set up instantly a great shout, as

if victory had been certain; and passing in a moment from one extreme to another, massacred the unfortunate nobleman who had come with the offer of pardon, and demanded to be led towards the enemy. The princes, enraged at this shocking violation of the laws of war, advanced with no less impetuosity, and began the attack; but the behaviour of the peasants in the combat was not such as might have been expected either from their ferocity or confidence of success; an undisciplined rabble was no equal match for well-trained troops; about 5000 were slain in the field, almost without making resistance; the rest fled, and among the foremost Muncer their general. He was taken next day, and being condemned to such punishments as his crimes had deserved, he suffered them with a poor and dastardly spirit. His death put an end to the insurrections of the peasants, which had filled Germany with such terror; but the enthusiastic notions which he had scattered were not extirpated, and produced, not long after, effects more memorable as well as more extravagant.

During these commotions Luther acted with exemplary prudence and moderation; like a common parent, solicitous about the welfare of both parties, without sparing the faults or errors of either. His famous marriage with Catherine a Boria, a nun of a noble family, who, having thrown off the veil, had fled from the cloister, happened this year, but was far from meeting with approbation.

This year also the Reformation lost its first protector, Frederic, elector of Saxony; but the blow was the less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous though less able patron of Luther and his doctrines. About the same time, that part of Prussia which the knights of the Teutonic order had held since the middle of the thirteenth century, was erected into a secular and hereditary duchy, and the investiture of

it granted to Albert, one of their grand masters, who, in return, bound himself to do homage for it to the kings of Poland as their vassal.

Upon the return of the French king to his dominions, the eyes of all the powers in Europe were fixed upon him, that, by observing his first motions, they might form a judgment concerning his subsequent conduct. They were not long in suspense. Francis, as soon as he arrived at Bayonne, wrote to the king of England, thanking him for the zeal and affection wherewith he had interposed in his favour, to which he acknowledged that he owed the recovery of his liberty. Next day the emperor's ambassadors demanded audience, and, in their master's name, required him to issue such orders as were necessary for carrying the treaty of Madrid into immediate and full execution; he coldly answered, that though, for his own part, he determined religiously to perform all that he had promised, the treaty contained so many articles relative not to himself alone, but affecting the interests of the French monarchy, that he could not take any farther step without consulting the states of his kingdom, and that some time would be necessary in order to reconcile their minds to the hard conditions which he had consented to ratify.

For various reasons the pope, the Venetians, and duke of Milan, were equally impatient to come to an agreement with Francis, who, on his part, was no less desirous of acquiring such a considerable accession both of strength and reputation as such a confederacy would bring along with it. The chief objects of this alliance, which was concluded at Cognac on the 22d of May, though kept secret for some time, were to oblige the emperor to set at liberty the French king's sons, upon payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the quiet possession of the Milanese. If Charles should refuse either of these, the contracting parties bound themselves to bring into the field an army of 35,000

men, with which, after driving the Spaniards out of the Milanese, they would attack the kingdom of Naples. The king of England was declared protector of this league, which they dignified with the name of *Holy*, because the pope was at the head of it; and in order to allure Henry more effectually, a principality in the kingdom of Naples, of 30,000 ducats yearly revenue, was to be settled on him, and lands to the value of 10,000 ducats on Wolsey his favourite.

No sooner was this league concluded, than Clement, by the plenitude of his papal power, absolved Francis from the oath which he had taken to observe the treaty of Madrid. The discovery of Francis's intention to elude the treaty of Madrid, filled the emperor with a variety of disquieting thoughts. Charles, however, was naturally firm and inflexible in all his measures. To have receded suddenly from any article in that treaty would have been a plain confession of imprudence and a palpable symptom of fear; he determined, therefore, that it was most suitable to his dignity to insist, whatever might be the consequences, on the strict execution of the treaty, and particularly not to accept of any thing which might be offered as an equivalent for the restitution of Burgundy.

In consequence of this resolution he appointed Lannoy and Alarcon to repair, as his ambassadors, to the court of France, and formally to summon the king, either to execute the treaty with the sincerity that became him, or to return, according to his oath, a prisoner to Madrid. Instead of giving them an immediate answer, Francis admitted the deputies of the States of Burgundy to an audience in their presence. They humbly represented to him, that he had exceeded the powers vested in a king of France when he consented to alienate their country from the crown, the domains of which he was bound by his coronation oath to preserve entire and unimpaired. The viceroy and Alarcon, who easily per



ceived that the scene to which they had been witnesses was concerted between the king and his subjects in order to impose upon them, signified to him their master's fixed resolution not to depart in the smallest point from the terms of the treaty, and withdrew. Before they left the kingdom, they had the mortification to hear the holy league against the emperor published with great solemnity.

The efforts of the confederates bore no proportion to that animosity against the emperor with which they seemed to enter into the holy league. Francis flattered himself, that the dread of the confederacy which he had formed would of itself induce Charles to listen to what was equitable; and was afraid of employing any considerable force for the relief of the Milanese, lest his allies should abandon him as soon as the imperialists were driven out of that country, and deprive his negotiations with the emperor of that weight which they derived from his being at the head of a powerful league. In the mean time the castle of Milan was pressed more closely than ever, and Sforza was now reduced to the last extremity. The pope and Venetians, trusting to Francis's concurrence, commanded their troops to take the field in order to relieve him; and an army more than sufficient for that service was soon formed. But Bourbon having been allowed time to bring up a reinforcement of fresh troops, and procure a supply of money, immediately took the command of the army, and pushed on the siege with such vigour as quickly obliged Sforza to surrender, who, retiring to Lodi, which the confederates had surprised, left Bourbon in full possession of the rest of the duchy, the investiture of which the emperor had promised to grant him.

Whilst all the papal troops were employed in Lombardy, Pompeo Colonna, the head of one of the most powerful Roman families, which had always adhered to the imperial faction, with a force of 3000 men, seized one of the gates of Rome, while the pope,

imagining himself to be in perfect security, **was** altogether unprepared for resisting such a feeble enemy. The inhabitants permitted Colonna's troops, from whom they apprehended no injury, to advance without opposition; the pope's guards were dispersed in a moment; and Clement himself, terrified at the danger, ashamed of his own credulity, and deserted by almost every person, fled with precipitation into the castle of St. Angelo, which was immediately invested. The palace of the Vatican, the church of St. Peter, and the houses of the pope's ministers and servants, were plundered in the most licentious manner. The rest of the city was left unmolested. Clement, destitute of every thing necessary either for subsistence or defence, was soon obliged to demand a capitulation; and not only grant a full pardon to the Colonnas, but receive them into favour, and immediately withdraw all the troops in his pay from the army of the confederates in Lombardy.

While the army of the confederates suffered such a considerable diminution, the imperialists received two great reinforcements; one from Spain, under the command of Lannoy and Alarcon, which amounted to 6000 men; the other, raised in the empire by George Fronsperg, a German nobleman, comprised 14,000. To these the archduke Ferdinand added 2000 horse, levied in the Austrian dominions. But although the emperor had raised troops, he could not remit the sums necessary for their support. Bourbon, in particular, was involved in such difficulties, that he stood in need of all his address and courage in order to extricate himself. Large sums were due to the Spanish troops already in the Milanese, when Fronsperg arrived with 16,000 hungry Germans destitute of every thing. Both made their demands with equal fierceness; the former claiming their arrears, and the latter, the pay which had been promised them on their entering Lombardy. Bourbon was altogether incapable of giving

satisfaction to either. In this situation he was constrained to commit acts of violence extremely shocking to his own nature, which was generous and humane. He seized the principal citizens of Milan, and by threats, and even by torture, forced from them a considerable sum; he rifled the churches of all their plate and ornaments; the inadequate supply which these afforded he distributed among the soldiers, with so many soothing expressions of his sympathy and affection, that though it fell far short of the sums due to them, it appeased their present murmurs.

Among other expedients for raising money, Bourbon granted his life and liberty to Moronè, who, having been kept in prison since his intrigue with Pescara, had been condemned to die by the Spanish judges empowered to try him. For this remission he paid 20,000 ducats; and such were his singular talents, and the wonderful ascendant which he always acquired over the minds of those to whom he had access, that in a few days from being Bourbon's prisoner he became his prime confidant, with whom he consulted in all affairs of importance.

No sooner did the papal troops return to Rome after the insurrection of the Colonnas, than Clement, without paying any regard to his engagements, degraded the cardinal Colonna, excommunicated the rest of the family, seized their places of strength, and wasted their lands with all the cruelty which the smart of a recent injury naturally excites. After this he turned his arms against Naples, and as his operations were seconded by the French fleet, he made some progress towards the conquest of that kingdom; the viceroy being no less destitute than the other imperial generals of the money requisite for a vigorous defence.

These proceedings of the pope justified, in appearance, the measures which Bourbon's situation rendered necessary; and he set about executing them under such disadvantages as furnish the strongest

proof both of the despair to which he was reduced and of the greatness of his abilities, which were able to surmount so many obstacles. Having committed the government of Milan to Leyva, whom he was not unwilling to leave behind, he began his march in the depth of winter, at the head of 25,000 men, composed of nations differing from each other in language and manners; without money, without magazines, without artillery, without carriages; in short, without any of those things which are necessary to the smallest party, and which seem essential to the existence and motions of a great army. His route lay through a country cut by rivers and mountains, in which the roads were almost impracticable; as an addition to his difficulties, the enemy's army, superior to his own in number, was at hand to watch all his motions, and to improve every advantage. But his troops, impatient of their present hardships, and allured by the hopes of immense booty, without considering how ill provided they were for a march, followed him with great cheerfulness, though their patience, tried to the utmost, failed at last, and they broke out into open mutiny. Some officers who rashly attempted to restrain them, fell victims to their fury: Bourbon himself, not daring to appear during the first transports of their rage, was obliged to fly secretly from his quarters. But this sudden ebullition of wrath began at last to subside; when Bourbon, who possessed, in a wonderful degree, the art of governing the minds of soldiers, renewed his promises with more confidence than formerly, and assured them that they would be soon accomplished. He endeavoured to render their hardships more tolerable, by partaking of them himself; he fared no better than the meanest sentinel; he marched along with them on foot; he joined them in singing their camp ballads, in which, with high praises of his valour, they mingled many strokes of military railery on his poverty; and wherever they came, he allowed them, as a foretaste of what he had promised, to



plunder the adjacent villages at discretion. Encouraged by all these soothing arts, they entirely forgot their sufferings and complaints, and followed him with the same implicit confidence as formerly.

Bourbon, meanwhile, carefully concealed his intentions. Rome and Florence, not knowing on which the blow would fall, were held in the most disquieting state of suspense. Clement, equally solicitous for the safety of both, fluctuated in more than his usual uncertainty. His timidity at length prevailed, and led him to conclude an agreement with Lannoy, of which the following were the chief articles: That a suspension of arms should take place between the pontifical and imperial troops for eight months: that Clement should advance 60,000 crowns towards satisfying the demands of the imperial army: that the Colonnas should be absolved from censure, and their former dignities and possessions be restored to them: that the viceroy should come to Rome, and prevent Bourbon from approaching nearer to that city or to Florence. On this hasty treaty, which deprived him of all hopes of assistance from his allies, without affording him any solid foundation of security, Clement relied so firmly, that, like a man extricated at once out of all difficulties, he was at perfect ease, and in the fulness of his confidence disbanded all his troops except as many as were sufficient to guard his own person.

Lannoy despatched a courier to Bourbon, informing him of the suspension of arms which, in the name of their common master, he had concluded with the pope. Bourbon, without paying the least regard to the message, continued to ravage the ecclesiastical territories, and to advance towards Florence. Upon this, all Clement's terror and anxiety returning with new force, he had recourse to Lannoy, and entreated and conjured him to put a stop to Bourbon's progress. Lannoy accordingly set out for his camp, but durst not approach it: Bourbon's soldiers having got notice of the truce, raged and threatened,

demanding the accomplishment of the promises to which they had trusted ; their general himself could hardly restrain them ; every person in Rome perceived that nothing remained but to prepare for resisting a storm which it was now impossible to dispel. Clement alone, relying on some ambiguous and deceitful professions which Bourbon made of his inclination towards peace, sunk back into his former security.

Bourbon, on his part, was far from being free from solicitude. All his attempts on any place of importance had hitherto miscarried ; and Florence, towards which he had been approaching for some time, was, by the arrival of the duke d'Urbino's army, put in a condition to set his power at defiance. As it now became necessary to change his route and to take instantly some new resolution, he fixed, without hesitation, on one which was no less daring in itself than it was impious according to the opinion of that age. This was to assault and plunder Rome.

He executed his resolution with a rapidity equal to the boldness with which he had formed it. His soldiers, now that they had their prey full in view, complained neither of fatigue, nor famine, nor want of pay. No sooner did they begin to move from Tuscany towards Rome, than the pope started from his security. He collected such of his disbanded soldiers as still remained in the city ; he armed the artificers of Rome, and the footmen and train-bearers of the cardinals ; he repaired the breaches in the walls ; he began to erect new works ; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors.

Bourbon advanced with such speed, that he gained several marches on the duke d'Urbino's army, and encamped in the plains of Rome on the evening of the 5th of May, 1527. From thence he shewed his soldiers the palaces and churches of that city, into which, as the capital of the Christian commonwealth, the

riches of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hostile hand; and commanding them to refresh themselves that night, as a preparation for the assault next day, promised them, in reward of their toils and valour, the possession of all the treasures accumulated there.

Early in the morning Bourbon, who had determined to distinguish that day either by his death or the success of the enterprise, appeared at the head of his troops clad in complete armour, above which he wore a vest of white tissue, that he might be more conspicuous both to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impression, he led them instantly to scale the walls. Three distinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the last of Italians, the three different nations of whom the army was composed, were appointed to this service, a separate attack was assigned to each; and the whole army advanced to support them as occasion should require. A thick mist concealed their approach until they reached almost the brink of the ditch which surrounded the suburbs: having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade rushed to the assault with an impetuosity heightened by national emulation. They were received at first with fortitude equal to their own; the Swiss in the pope's guards, and the veteran soldiers who had been assembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the noblest city in the world was intrusted. Bourbon's troops, notwithstanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to give way: when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, leaped from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling ladder from a soldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand to follow him. But at that very instant a musket-bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound which he immediately felt to be mortal; but he retained so much presence of

mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops; and soon after he expired with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, and not at the head of its enemies.

This fatal event could not be concealed from the army; the soldiers soon missed their general, whom they were accustomed to see in every time of danger; but instead of being disheartened by their loss, it animated them with new valour; the name of Bourbon resounded along the line, accompanied with the cry of *blood* and *revenge*. The veterans who defended the walls were soon overpowered by numbers; the untrained body of city-recruits fled at the sight of danger, and the enemy, with irresistible violence, rushed into the town.

During the combat, Clement was employed at the high altar of St. Peter's church in offering up to Heaven unavailing prayers for victory. No sooner was he informed that his troops began to give way, than he fled with precipitation: and with an infatuation still more amazing than any thing already mentioned, instead of making his escape by the opposite gate, where there was no enemy to oppose it, he shut himself up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambassadors, and many persons of distinction, in the castle of St. Angelo, which, from his late misfortune, he might have known to be an insecure retreat. In his way from the Vatican to that fortress, he saw his troops flying before an enemy, who pursued without giving quarter; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the beginning of those calamities which his own credulity and ill-conduct had brought upon his subjects.

It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of that scene which followed. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private per-



sons, were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over; the imperialists kept possession of Rome several months; and during all that time, the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money amounted to a million of ducats; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who overran the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as now by the bigoted subjects of a catholic monarch.

After Bourbon's death, the command of the imperial army devolved on Philibert de Chalons, prince of Orange, who with difficulty prevailed on as many of his soldiers to desist from the pillage as were necessary to invest the castle of St. Angelo. Clement did not despair of holding out until the duke D'Urbino could come to his relief. But D'Urbino, preferring the indulgence of his hatred against the family of Medici to the glory of delivering the capital, from an exquisite refinement in revenge, having marched forward so far, that his army being seen from the ramparts of St. Angelo flattered the pope with the prospect of certain relief, he immediately wheeled about and retired. Clement, deprived of every resource, and reduced to such extremity of famine as to feed on asses' flesh, was obliged to capitulate on such conditions as the conquerors were pleased to prescribe.

The account of this extraordinary and unexpected event was no less surprising than agreeable to the emperor. But in order to conceal his joy from his subjects, who were filled with horror at the success

and crimes of their countrymen, and to lessen the indignation of the rest of Europe, he declared that Rome had been assaulted without any order from him. He wrote to all the princes with whom he was in alliance, disclaiming his having had any knowledge of Bourbon's intention. He put himself and court into mourning ; commanded the rejoicings which had been ordered for the birth of his son Philip to be stopped ; and employing an artifice no less hypocritical than gross, he appointed prayers and processions throughout all Spain for the recovery of the pope's liberty, which, by an order to his generals, he could have immediately granted him.

The good fortune of the house of Austria was no less conspicuous in another part of Europe. Solyman having invaded Hungary with an army of 300,000 men, Lewis II. king of that country and of Bohemia, a weak and inexperienced prince, advanced rashly to meet him with a body of men which did not amount to 30,000. With an imprudence still more unpardonable, he gave the command of these troops to Paul Tomorri, a Franciscan monk, archbishop of Golocza. This awkward general, in the dress of his order, girt with its cord, marched at the head of the troops ; and hurried on by his own presumption, as well as by the impetuosity of nobles who despised danger, but were impatient of long service, he fought the fatal battle of Mohacz, in which the king, the flower of the Hungarian nobility, and upwards of 20,000 men, fell the victims of his folly and ill-conduct. Solyman, after his victory, seized and kept possession of several towns of the greatest strength in the southern provinces of Hungary, and, overrunning the rest of the country, carried near 200,000 persons into captivity. As Lewis was the last male of the royal family of Jagellon, the archduke Ferdinand claimed, and eventually obtained, both his crowns.

The dissensions between the pope and emperor proved extremely favourable to the progress of

Lutheranism; for Charles, exasperated by Clement's conduct, and fully employed in opposing the league which he had formed against him, had little inclination, and less leisure, to take any measures for suppressing the new opinions in Germany.

## BOOK V.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the pope had been treated, filled all Europe with astonishment or horror. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progress of the imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a closer alliance. The negotiation between these princes was not tedious. Wolsey himself conducted it, on the part of his sovereign, with unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in person at Amiens, where the cardinal appeared and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the duke of Orleans and the princess Mary was agreed to as the basis of the confederacy; it was resolved that Italy should be the theatre of war; the strength of the army which should take the field, as well as the contingent of troops or of money which each prince should furnish, was settled; and if the emperor did not accept of the proposals which they were jointly to make him, they bound themselves immediately to declare war and to begin hostilities. Henry, who took every resolution with impetuosity, entered so eagerly into this new alliance, that in order to give Francis the strongest proof of his friendship and respect, he formally renounced the ancient claim of the English monarchs to the crown of France, which had long been the pride and ruin of the nation; as a full compensation for which he accepted a pension of 50,000 crowns, to be paid annually to himself and his successors.

The pope being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, still remained a prisoner under the

severe custody of Alarcon. The Florentines no sooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner, expelled the cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the statues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themselves a free state, re-established their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the pope, seized Ravenna and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in deposit. The dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold likewise on part of the spoils of the unfortunate pontiff, whom they considered as irretrievably ruined.

Lannoy, on the other hand, laboured to derive some solid benefit from that unforeseen event which gave such splendour and superiority to his master's arms. For this purpose he marched to Rome, together with Moncada and the marquis del Guasto, at the head of all the troops which they could assemble in the kingdom of Naples; but finding that it was not safe to remain among licentious troops who despised his dignity and hated his person, he returned to Naples, and soon after the marquis del Guasto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the same reason.

The king of France and the Venetians had now leisure to form new schemes and to enter into new engagements for delivering the pope and preserving the liberties of Italy. The newly-restored republic of Florence very imprudently joined with them, and Lautrec, of whose abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own master, was, in order to gratify them, appointed generalissimo of the league. The best troops in France marched under his command; and the king of England, though he had not yet declared war against the emperor, advanced a considerable sum towards carrying on the expedition. Lautrec's first operations were prudent, vigorous and successful. By the assist-



ance of Andrew Doria, the ablest sea-officer of that age, he rendered himself master of Genoa, and re-established in that republic the faction of the Fregosi, together with the dominion of France. He obliged Alexandria to surrender after a short siege, and reduced all the country on that side of the Tessino. He took Pavia, which had so long resisted the arms of his sovereign, by assault, and plundered it with that cruelty which the memory of the fatal disaster that had befallen the French nation before its walls naturally inspired. All the Milanese, which Antonio de Leyva defended with a small body of troops kept together and supported by his own address and industry, must have soon submitted to his power, if he had continued to bend the force of his arms against that country. But he was instructed not to push his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the pope, and the solicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief and the other for protection, were so urgent as to furnish him with a decent pretext for marching forward, without yielding to the entreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who insisted on his laying siege to Milan.

While Lautrec advanced slowly towards Rome, the emperor had time to deliberate concerning the disposal of the pope's person, who still remained a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The treaty for Clement's liberty was at length brought to a conclusion, upon these conditions. He was obliged to advance in ready money 100,000 crowns for the use of the army; to pay the same sum at the distance of a fortnight; and at the end of three months 150,000 more. He engaged not to take part in the war against Charles either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a bull of crusado, and the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hostages, but put the emperor in possession of several towns, as a security for the performance of these articles. Having raised the first

moiety by a sale of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from imprisonment. But Clement, impatient to be free after a tedious confinement of six months, as well as full of the suspicion and distrust natural to the unfortunate, was so much afraid that the imperialists might still throw in obstacles to put off his deliverance, that he disguised himself, on the night preceding the day when he was to be set free, in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted somewhat of his vigilance upon the conclusion of the treaty, he made his escape undiscovered. He arrived before next morning at Orvietto, without any attendants but a single officer; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief instrument of procuring him liberty.

During these transactions the ambassadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in consequence of the treaty which Wolsey had concluded with the French king. The emperor now discovered an inclination to relax somewhat the rigour of the treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had adhered inflexibly. But his proposals were rejected, and two heralds, who had accompanied the ambassadors on purpose, were despatched to the emperor's court formally to denounce war against him. Charles received both with a dignity suitable to his own rank, but spoke to each in a tone adapted to the sentiments which he entertained of their sovereigns. He accepted the defiance of the English monarch with a firmness tempered by some degree of decency and respect. He desired the French herald to acquaint his sovereign that he would henceforth consider him not only as a base violator of public faith, but as a stranger to the honour and integrity becoming a gentleman. Francis, too high-spirited to bear such an imputation, challenged him to single combat, and though his proposition was accepted, all thoughts of this duel was eventually laid aside.

Lautrec's army, which was now increased to 35,000 men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonstrances and the entreaties of the prince of Orange, prevailed at last on the imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept possession during ten months. But of that flourishing army which had entered the city scarcely one-half remained; the rest, cut off by the plague or wasted by disease, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes. Lautrec made the greatest efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finished the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders disappointed all his measures, and conducted them with little loss to Naples. The people of that kingdom, extremely impatient to shake off the Spanish yoke, received the French with open arms wherever they appeared to take possession; and, Gaeta and Naples excepted, hardly any place of importance remained in the hands of the imperialists. The preservation of the former was owing to the strength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the presence of the imperial army. Lautrec, however, sat down before Naples; but finding it vain to think of reducing a city by force while defended by a whole army, he was obliged to employ the slower but less dangerous method of blockade; and having taken measures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently assured his master, that famine would soon compel the besieged to capitulate. These hopes were strongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the sea. The galleys of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had succeeded Lannoy in the viceroyalty, rigged out a number of galleys superior to Doria's, manned them with a chosen body of Spanish veterans, and going

on board himself, together with the marquis del Guasto, attacked Philippino before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But the Genoese admiral, by his superior skill in naval operations, easily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, most of his fleet destroyed, and Guasto, with many officers of distinction, being taken prisoners, were put on board the captive galleys, and sent by Philippino as trophies of his victory to his uncle.

Unexpected events retarded the progress of the French, discouraging both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their measures. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and removing thither some branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly shewed that they intended to render that town, which had been long the object of jealousy and hatred to the Genoese, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotic zeal for the honour and interest of his country, remonstrated against this in the highest tone, not without threats, if the measure were not instantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the most odious light, irritated Francis to such a degree, that he commanded Barbesieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to sail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arrest Doria, and to seize his galleys. This rash order, the execution of which could have been secured only by the most profound secrecy, was concealed with so little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his galleys to a place of safety. Guasto, his prisoner, who had long observed and fomented his growing discontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promises to enter into the emperor's service, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and resentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to despatch one of his officers to the imperial court with his overtures



and demands. The negotiation was not long : Charles, fully sensible of the importance of such an acquisition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria sent back his commission, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoisting the imperial colours, sailed with all his galleys towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city, as he had formerly engaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance.

His arrival opened the communication with the sea, and restored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the last extremity; and the French, having lost their superiority at sea, were soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions. The prince of Orange, who succeeded the viceroy in the command of the imperial army, shewed himself by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the prosperity which they had enjoyed under his command served him with the utmost alacrity, he let slip no opportunity of harassing the enemy and by continual alarms or sallies fatigued and weakened them. As an addition to all these misfortunes, the diseases common in that country during the sultry months began to break out among the French troops. The prisoners communicated to them the pestilence which the imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with such violence, that few, either officers or soldiers, escaped the infection. Of the whole army, not 4,000 men, a number hardly sufficient to defend the camp, were capable of doing duty; and being now besieged in their turn, they suffered all the miseries from which the imperialists were delivered. Lautrec, after struggling long with so many disappointments and calamities, which preyed on his mind at the same time that the pestilence wasted his body, died, lamenting the negligence of his sovereign and the infidelity of his allies, to which so many brave men had fallen victims.

By his death, and the indisposition of the other generals, the command devolved on the marquis de Saluces, an officer altogether unequal to such a trust. He, with troops no less dispirited than reduced, retreated in disorder to Aversa; which town being invested by the prince of Orange, Saluces was under the necessity of consenting that he himself should remain a prisoner of war, that his troops should lay down their arms and colours, give up their baggage, and march under a guard to the frontiers of France. By this ignominious capitulation the wretched remains of the French army were saved; and the emperor, by his own perseverance, and the good conduct of his generals, acquired once more the superiority in Italy.

The loss of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. On the approach of Doria the French galleys retired; a small body of men which he landed, surprised one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garrison, shut himself up in the citadel, and Doria took possession of the town without bloodshed or resistance. Want of provisions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to abolish such an odious monument of their servitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

Francis, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, discredited by so many losses, made new efforts in the Milanese. But the count of St. Pol, a rash and inexperienced officer, to whom he gave the command, was no match for Antonio de Leyva, the ablest of the imperial generals. He, by his superior skill in war, checked with a handful of men the brisk but ill-concerted motions of the French; and though so infirm himself that he was carried constantly in a litter, he surpassed them, when occasion required, no less in activity than in prudence. By an unexpected march he surprised, defeated, and took prisoner the count of St. Pol, ruining the French army in the

Milanese as entirely as the prince of Orange had ruined that which besieged Naples.

Amidst these vigorous operations in the field, each party discovered an impatient desire of peace, and continual negotiations were carried on for that purpose. In this situation of affairs, two ladies undertook to procure this blessing so much desired by all Europe. These were Margaret of Austria, duchess dowager of Savoy, the emperor's aunt, and Louise, Francis's mother. They agreed on an interview at Cambray; and being lodged in two adjoining houses between which a communication was opened, met together without ceremony or observation, and held daily conferences, to which no person whatever was admitted. As both were profoundly skilled in business, thoroughly acquainted with the secrets of their respective courts, and possessed with perfect confidence in each other, they soon made great progress towards a final accommodation; and the ambassadors of all the confederates waited in anxious suspense to know their fate, the determination of which was entirely in the hands of those illustrious negotiators.

But whatever diligence they used to hasten forward a general peace, the pope had the address and industry to get the start of his allies, by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty for himself. Charles being extremely solicitous to make some reparation for the insults which he had offered to the sacred character of the pope, and to redeem past offences by new merit, granted Clement, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued series of success. Among other articles he engaged to restore all the territories belonging to the ecclesiastical state; to re-establish the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza and the possession of the Milanese. In return for these ample concessions, Clement gave the emperor the

investiture of Naples, without the reserve of any tribute but the present of a white steed, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty ; absolved all who had been concerned in assaulting and plundering Rome, and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout their dominions.

The account of this transaction quickened the negotiations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louise to an immediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid served as the basis of that which they concluded, the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, That the emperor should not, for the present, demand the restitution of Burgundy, reserving however, in full force, his rights and pretensions to that duchy : That Francis should pay 2,000,000 of crowns as the ransom of his sons, and before they were set at liberty, should restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese : That he should resign his pretensions to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois : That he should renounce all his pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps : That he should immediately consummate the marriage concluded between him and the emperor's sister Eleanora.

Francis did not treat the king of England with the same neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the steps of his negotiation at Cambray, and luckily found that monarch in a situation which left him no choice but to approve implicitly of his measures, and to concur with them. Henry had been soliciting the pope for some time, in order to obtain a divorce from Catharine of Aragon his queen. And as Clement was now in strict alliance with the emperor, who had purchased his friendship by the exorbitant concessions which have been mentioned, Henry despaired of procuring any sentence from the former but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and passions concurred in preventing him



from relinquishing his scheme of a divorce, which he determined to accomplish by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendship being necessary to counterbalance the emperor's power, he, in order to secure that, not only offered no remonstrances against the total neglect of their allies in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the present of a large sum, as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ransom for his sons.

Soon after the treaty of peace was concluded, the emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spanish nobility, and a considerable body of troops, leaving the government of Spain, during his absence, to the empress Isabella. Ambassadors from all the princes and states of that country attended his court, waiting to receive his decision with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he first landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the republic several new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the pope. He affected to unite, in his public entry into that city, the state and majesty that suited an emperor with the humility becoming an obedient son of the church; and while at the head of 20,000 veteran soldiers able to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiss the feet of that very pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner.

The progress of the Turkish sultan, who, after overrunning Hungary, had penetrated into Austria and laid siege to Vienna, with an army of 150,000 men, loudly called upon him to collect his whole force to oppose that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the vizier, soon obliged Solymán to abandon that enterprise with disgrace and loss, the religious disorders still growing in Germany rendered the presence of the emperor highly necessary there. The Florentines, instead of

giving their consent to the re-establishment of the Medici, which, by the treaty of Barcelona, the emperor had bound himself to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the preparations for his journey had involved him in unusual expenses; and on this as well as many other occasions, the multiplicity of his affairs, together with the narrowness of his revenues, obliged him to contract the schemes which his boundless ambition was apt to form, and to forego present and certain advantages, that he might guard against more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all these considerations, finding it necessary to assume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his presence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all past offences, but granted him the investiture of the duchy, together with his niece, the king of Denmark's daughter, in marriage. He allowed the duke of Ferrara to keep possession of all his dominions, adjusting the points in dispute between him and the pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians, upon the reasonable condition of their restoring whatever they had usurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or papal territories. In return for so many concessions, he exacted considerable sums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his journey towards Germany with a magnificence suitable to his dignity.

The imperial army entered the territories of the Florentines, and formed the siege of their capital. But though deserted by all their allies, and left without any hope of succour, they defended themselves many months with an obstinate valour worthy of better success; and even when they surrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of securing some remains of their liberty. But the

emperor, from his desire to gratify the pope, frustrated all their expectations, and abolishing their ancient form of government, raised Alexander di Medici to the same absolute dominion over that state which his family have retained to the present times.

After the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as king of Lombardy and emperor of the Romans, which the pope performed with the accustomed formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy, and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His presence became every day more necessary in that country, and was solicited with equal importunity by the Catholics and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity which the absence of the emperor, the contests between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded them, the latter gained much ground. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half the Germanic body had revolted from the papal see, and its authority, even in those provinces which had not hitherto shaken off the yoke, was considerably weakened, partly by the example of revolt in the neighbouring states, partly by the secret progress of the reformed doctrines even in those countries where it was not openly embraced. A diet of the empire was held at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. The decree of the diet assembled there in the year 1526, which was almost equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions, had given great offence to the rest of Christendom. The archduke, therefore, and the other commissioners appointed by the emperor, required the present assembly to enjoin those states of the empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree

issued against Luther at Worms, in the year 1524, to persevere in the observation of it, and to prohibit the other states from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the mass, before the meeting of a general council. After much dispute, a decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices.

The elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, the dukes of Lunenburg, the prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest against this decree, as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished by the name of **PROTESTANTS**, an appellation which hath since become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiscriminately to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman see. Not satisfied with this declaration of their dissent from the decree of the diet, the Protestants sent ambassadors into Italy to lay their grievances before the emperor, from whom they met with the most discouraging reception. He, however, considered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for reconciling the Protestants; but promised, if gentler arts failed of success, that then he would exert himself with rigour to reduce to the obedience of the holy see those stubborn enemies of the Catholic faith.

Such were the sentiments with which the emperor set out for Germany, having already appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Augsburg. In his journey towards that city, he had many opportunities of observing the disposition of the Germans with regard to the points in controversy, and found their minds every where so much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted until all other measures proved ineffectual. He made his public entry into Augsburg with extraordinary pomp; and found there such a full assembly of the members of the diet, as



was suitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their consideration, and to the honour of an emperor, who, after a long absence, returned to them crowned with reputation and success. His presence seems to have communicated to all parties an unusual spirit of moderation and desire of peace. The elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to the diet, lest he should offend the emperor by bringing into his presence a person excommunicated by the pope, and who had been the author of all those dissensions which it now appeared so difficult to compose. At the emperor's desire, all the Protestant princes forbade the divines who accompanied them to preach in public during their residence at Augsburg. For the same reason they employed Melancthon, the man of the greatest learning, as well as of the most pacific and gentle spirit among the reformers, to draw up a confession of their faith, expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition with great moderation and address. The Creed which he composed, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was read publicly in the diet. Some popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his brethren; but though Melancthon softened some articles, made concessions with regard to others, and put the least exceptionable sense upon all; though the emperor himself laboured with great earnestness to reconcile the contending parties,—so many marks of distinction were now established, and such insuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate.

From the divines among whom his endeavours had been so unsuccessful, Charles turned to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find them, how desirous soever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the emperor, more disposed than the former to renounce their opinions. The elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and other chiefs of the Protestants, though solicited separately by the emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were more solicitous to attain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for the sake of any earthly acquisition.

Every scheme in order to gain or disunite the Protestant party proving abortive, nothing now remained for the emperor but to take some vigorous measures towards asserting the doctrines and authority of the established church. These Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had always recommended as the only proper and effectual course of dealing with such obstinate heretics. In compliance with his opinions and remonstrances, the diet issued a decree condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants; forbidding any person to protect or tolerate such as taught them; enjoining a strict observance of the established rites; and prohibiting any farther innovation under severe penalties. All orders of men were required to assist with their persons and fortunes in carrying this decree into execution; and such as refused to obey it were declared incapable of acting as judges or of appearing as parties in the imperial chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the empire. To all which was subjoined a promise, that an application should be made to the pope, requiring him to call a general council within six months, in order to terminate all controversies by its sovereign decisions.

The severity of this decree, which was considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, alarmed

the Protestants, and convinced them that the emperor was resolved on their destruction. The dread of those calamities which were ready to fall on the church oppressed the feeble spirit of Melancthon; and, as if the cause had already been desperate, he gave himself up to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther comforted him and his other desponding disciples, and exhorted the princes not to abandon those truths which they had lately asserted with such laudable boldness. His exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the popish princes of the empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded. This convinced them that it was necessary to stand on their guard; and that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and with these sentiments concerning the conduct proper for themselves, they assembled at Smalkalde. There they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors, by which they formed the Protestant states of the empire into one regular body, and beginning already to consider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy.

An affair not connected with religion furnished them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whose ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increase of his power and grandeur, had formed a scheme of continuing the imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans. The Protestants, however, determined to oppose his election with the utmost vigour, and to rouse their countrymen, by their example and exhortation, to withstand what they conceived to be an encroachment on their liberties. The elector of Saxony, accordingly, not only refused to be present at the electoral

college, which the emperor summoned to meet at Cologne, but instructed his eldest son to appear there, and to protest against the election as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of the golden bull, and subversive of the liberties of the empire. But the other electors, whom Charles had been at great pains to gain, without regarding either his absence or protest, chose Ferdinand king of the Romans; who, a few days after, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

When the Protestants, who were assembled a second time at Smalkalde, received an account of this transaction, and heard at the same time, that prosecutions were commenced, in the imperial chamber, against some of their number, on account of their religious principles, they thought it necessary not only to renew their former confederacy, but immediately to despatch their ambassadors into France and England. Francis had observed, with all the jealousy of a rival, the reputation which the emperor had acquired by his seeming disinterestedness and moderation in settling the affairs in Italy; and beheld with great concern the successful step which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a king of the Romans. He observed with great joy powerful factions beginning to form in the empire; he listened with the utmost eagerness to the complaints of the Protestant princes; and without seeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpose he sent William de Bellay, one of the ablest negotiators in France, into Germany, who, visiting the courts of the malcontent princes, and heightening their ill-humour by various arts, concluded an alliance between them and his master, which, though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occasions to Charles's ambitious projects; and shewed the dis-



contented princes of Germany where for the future they might find a protector, no less able than willing to undertake their defence against the encroachments of the emperor. But the king of England was obliged to rest satisfied with giving general promises, together with a small supply of money, to the confederates of Smalkalde.

Meanwhile, many circumstances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his interest to consolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. As Solyman was preparing to enter Austria with numerous forces, a speedy accommodation with the malcontent princes became necessary, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for insuring his present safety. Negotiations were accordingly carried on by his direction with the elector of Saxony and his associates: and at length terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty it was stipulated, That universal peace be established in Germany until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within six months the emperor shall endeavour to procure; that no person shall be molested on account of religion; that a stop shall be put to all processes begun by the imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment shall be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks.

The intelligence which Charles received of Solyman's having entered Hungary at the head of 300,000 men, brought the deliberations of the diet at Ratisbon to a period; the contingent both of troops and money which each prince was to furnish towards the

defence of the empire having been already settled. The Protestants, as a testimony of their gratitude to the emperor, exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces which exceeded in number the quota imposed on them; the Catholics imitating their example, one of the greatest and best-appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany assembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans under the Marquis del Guasto; by some heavy-armed cavalry from the Low Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raised in Bohemia, Austria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to 90,000 disciplined foot and 30,000 horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars. Of this vast army the emperor took the command in person; and mankind waited in suspense the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest monarchs in the world. But Solyman finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Constantinople towards the end of autumn.

About the beginning of this campaign the elector of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic. The Reformation rather gained than lost by that event; the new elector, no less attached than his predecessors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the station which they had held at the head of the Protestant party, and defended, with the boldness and zeal of youth, that cause which they had fostered and reared with the caution of more advanced age.

As Francis had renounced his pretensions in Italy with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the first pretext afforded him, or embrace the first opportunity which presented itself, of recovering what he had lost. It became necessary on this account to take measures for assembling an army able to oppose him. As his treasury, drained by a long war, could not supply the sums requisite for keeping such a body constantly on foot, he

attempted to throw that burden on his allies, and to provide for the safety of his own dominions at their expense, by proposing that the Italian states should enter into a league of defence against all invaders ; that on the first appearance of danger, an army should be raised and maintained at the common charge ; and that Antonio de Leyva should be appointed the generalissimo. Nor was the proposal unacceptable to Clement, though for a reason very different from that which induced the emperor to make it. He hoped by this expedient to deliver Italy from the German and Spanish veterans, which had so long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and still kept them in subjection to the imperial yoke. A league was accordingly concluded ; all the Italian States, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it ; the sum which each of the contracting parties should furnish towards maintaining the army was fixed ; the emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave so much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to support. Having disbanded part of them, and removed the rest to Sicily and Spain, he embarked on board Doria's galleys, and arrived at Barcelona.

Meanwhile, Francis laboured to break the strict confederacy which subsisted between Charles and Clement. As the emperor had gained such an ascendant over the pope by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the same irresistible bait, proposing a marriage between his second son, Henry, duke of Orleans, and Catharine, the daughter of the pope's cousin, Laurence di Medici. On the first overture of this match, the emperor could not persuade himself that Francis really intended to debase the royal blood of France by an alliance with Catharine, whose ancestors had been so lately private citizens and merchants in Florence, and believed that he meant only to flatter or amuse the ambitious pontiff. He thought it necessary, however, to efface the impression which such a

dazzling offer might have made, by promising to break off the marriage which had been agreed on between his own niece the king of Denmark's daughter and the duke of Milan, and to substitute Catharine in her place. But the French ambassador producing, unexpectedly, full powers to conclude the marriage treaty with the duke of Orleans, this expedient had no effect. Clement was so highly pleased with an honour which added such lustre and dignity to the house of Medici, that he offered to grant Catharine the investiture of considerable territories in Italy by way of portion ; he seemed ready to support Francis in prosecuting his ancient claims in that country, and consented to a personal interview with that monarch.

Charles was at the utmost pains to prevent a meeting in which nothing was likely to pass but what would be of detriment to him ; nor could he bear, after he had twice condescended to visit the pope in his own territories, that Clement should bestow such a mark of distinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by sea, at an unfavourable season, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the pope's eagerness to accomplish the match overcame all the scruples of pride, or fear, or jealousy, which would probably have influenced him on any other occasion. The interview, notwithstanding several artifices of the emperor to prevent it, took place at Marseilles with extraordinary pomp and demonstrations of confidence on both sides ; and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the sequel as pernicious to France as it was then thought dishonourable, was consummated. But whatever schemes may have been secretly concerted by the pope and Francis in favour of the duke of Orleans, to whom his father proposed to make over all his rights in Italy, so careful were they to avoid giving any cause of offence to the emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them ; and even in the marriage articles, Catharine re-



nounced all claims and pretensions in Italy, **except** to the duchy of Urbino.

But at the very time when he was carrying on these negotiations and forming this connexion with Francis, which gave so great umbrage to the emperor such was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he suffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the king of England, and was no less attentive to gratify him in that particular, than if the most cordial union had subsisted between them. Henry's suit for a divorce had now continued nearly six years, during all which period the pope negotiated, promised, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and disappointments longer than could have been expected from a prince of such a choleric and impetuous temper, the patience of Henry was at last so much exhausted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had solicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, by a sentence founded on the authority of the universities, doctors, and rabbies, who had been consulted with respect to the point, annulled the king's marriage with Catharine ; and Anne Boleyn was acknowledged as queen of England. At the same time Henry began not only to neglect and to threaten the pope, whom he had hitherto courted, but to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been such a zealous defender. Clement, who had already seen so many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the holy see, became apprehensive at last that England might imitate their example ; and partly from his solicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French king's solicitations, determined to give Henry such satisfaction as might retain him within the bosom of the church. But the violence of the cardinals, devoted to the emperor, did not allow the pope leisure for executing this prudent resolution, and hurried him, with a precipitation fatal to the Roman see, to issue a bull rescinding Cranmer's

sentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time specified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deserted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any measures with the court of Rome; his subjects seconded his resentment and indignation; an act of parliament was passed abolishing the papal power and jurisdiction in England; by another the king was declared supreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the popes were deprived was vested in him. That vast fabric of ecclesiastical dominion which had been raised with such art, and of which the foundations seemed to have been laid so deep, being no longer supported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry himself, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romish church as fiercely as he attacked its jurisdiction. He alternatively prosecuted the Protestants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter. But his subjects being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not choose to stop short at the precise point prescribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break some of their fetters, they were so impatient to shake off what still remained, that in the following reign, with the applause of the greater part of the nation, a total separation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine as well as in matters of discipline and jurisdiction.

A short delay might have saved the see of Rome from all the unhappy consequences of Clement's rashness. Soon after his sentence against Henry, he fell into a languishing distemper, which gradually wasting his constitution, put an end to his pontificate the most unfortunate, both during its continuance and by its effects, that the church had known for many ages. The very day on which the cardinals entered the conclave, they raised to the papal throne

Alexander Farnese, dean of the sacred college, and the oldest member of that body, who assumed the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleased, after an interval of more than a hundred years, to see the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen; and even Francis found it necessary to suspend his operations for some time, and to put off the commencement of hostilities against the emperor, on which, before the death of Clement, he had been fully determined.

While Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved so fatal to himself and his subjects, a transaction of a very singular nature was carried on in Germany. A sect distinguished by the name of Anabaptists, from their peculiar notions concerning baptism, now made themselves conspicuous in no ordinary degree. They maintained, that among Christians, who had the precepts of the Gospel to direct and the Spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment on their spiritual liberty; that the distinctions occasioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, which considers all men as equal, should be entirely abolished; and that all Christians, throwing their possessions into one common stock, should live together in that state of equality which becomes members of the same family. Two of their prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman tailor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city in Westphalia, of the first rank, under the sovereignty of its bishop, but governed by its own senate and consuls. As neither of these fanatics wanted the talents requisite in desperate enterprises, great resolution, the appearance of sanctity, bold pretensions to inspiration, and a confident and

plausible manner of discoursing,—they soon gained many converts. Among these were Rothman, who had first preached the Protestant doctrine in Munster, and Cnipperdoling, a citizen of good birth and considerable eminence. Imboldened by the countenance of such disciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not satisfied with that liberty, they made several attempts, though without success, to become masters of the town, in order to get their tenets established by public authority. At last, having secretly called in their associates from the neighbouring country, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal and senate-house in the night-time, and running through the streets with drawn swords and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, ‘Repent and be baptized,’ and, ‘Depart, ye ungodly.’ The senators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more sober citizens, whether Papists or Protestants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantic multitude, consisting chiefly of strangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or control them, they set about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at first they shewed so much reverence for the ancient constitution as to elect senators of their own sect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another proselyte consuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the style and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was instant death to disobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the churches and deface their ornaments, he enjoined them to destroy all books except the Bible, as useless or impious; he ordered the estates of such as fled to be confiscated, and sold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he commanded every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amassed by these means he deposited in a public treasury, and



named deacons to dispense it for the common use of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in public, and even prescribed the dishes which were to be served up each day. Having finished his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took measures for that purpose with a prudence which savoured nothing of fanaticism. He collected large magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person without distinction to work in his turn; he formed such as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the stability of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm. He sent emissaries to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount Sion, that from thence they might set out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He himself was unwearied in attending to every thing necessary for the security or increase of the sect; animating his disciples by his own example to decline no labour, as well as to submit to every hardship: and their enthusiastic passions being kept from subsiding by a perpetual succession of exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they seemed ready to undertake or to suffer any thing in maintenance of their opinions.

While they were thus employed, the bishop of Munster having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. On his approach, Matthias sallied out at the head of some chosen troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced it, and after a great slaughter returned to the city loaded with glory and spoil. Intoxicated with this success, he appeared next day brandishing a spear, and declared, that in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth with a handful of men and smite the host of the ungodly. Thirty persons whom he named followed him without hesitation in this wild enterprise,

and rushing on the enemy with a frantic courage, were cut off to a man. The death of their prophet occasioned at first great consternation among his disciples; but Boccold, by the same gifts and pretensions which had gained Matthias credit, soon revived their spirits and hopes to such a degree, that he succeeded the deceased prophet in the same absolute direction of all their affairs. Soon after the death of his predecessor, having by obscure visions and prophecies prepared the multitude for some extraordinary event, he stripped himself naked, and marching through the streets, proclaimed with a loud voice, 'That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted.' In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the most lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the senators chosen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the consulship, the highest office in the commonwealth, appointed him to execute the lowest and most infamous, that of common hangman, to which strange transition the other agreed, not only without murmuring, but with the utmost joy; and such was the despotic rigour of Boccold's administration, that he was called almost every day to perform some duty or other of his wretched function. In place of the deposed senators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

Not satisfied, however, with power or titles which were not supreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God that John Boccold should be king of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richest and most sumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked sword on the

ther. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in public. He coined money stamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his household and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former submission.

Having now attained the height of power, Boccold began to discover passions which he had hitherto restrained or indulged only in secret, and these being soon communicated to his followers, every excess was committed of which the passions of men are capable when restrained neither by the authority of laws nor the sense of decency.

Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Christian name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and having exposed the delusion with great strength of argument as well as acrimony of style, called loudly on all the estates of Germany to put a stop to a frenzy no less pernicious to society than fatal to religion. The emperor, occupied with other cares and projects, had not leisure to attend to such a distant object; but the princes of the empire, assembled by the king of the Romans, voted a supply of men and money to the bishop of Munster, who being unable to keep a sufficient army on foot, had converted the siege of the town into a blockade. The forces raised in consequence of this resolution were put under the command of an officer of experience, who approaching the town towards the end of spring, in the year 1535, pressed it more closely than formerly; but found the fortifications so strong and so diligently guarded, that he durst not attempt an assault. It was now above fifteen months since the Anabaptists had esta-

blished their dominion in Munster; they had during that time undergone prodigious fatigue in working on the fortifications and performing military duty. Notwithstanding the prudent attention of their king to provide for their subsistence, and his frugal as well as regular economy in their public meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. They chose, however, rather to endure its utmost rigours, than to listen to the terms of capitulation offered them by the bishop. At last a deserter whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed, and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, though surprised, defended themselves in the market-place with valour heightened by despair; but being overpowered by numbers and surrounded on every hand, most of them were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. Among the last were the king and Cnipperdoling. The king, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition, and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers and to excite com-



motions so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age. Upon his death the kingdom of the Anabaptists came to an end.

The alliance between the French king and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year 1519, on account of his violent and oppressive administration, the house of Austria had got possession of his duchy. The landgrave of Hesse, his near relation, warmly espoused his interest, and used many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the king of the Romans obstinately refused to relinquish a valuable acquisition which his family had made with so much ease. The landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the king of France, his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of distressing the house of Austria, and desirous of wresting from it a territory which gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a distance from its other dominions, encouraged the landgrave to take arms, and secretly supplied him with a large sum of money. This he employed to raise troops; and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and dispersed, a considerable body of Austrians intrusted with the defence of the country. All the duke's subjects hastened, with emulation, to receive their native prince, and reinvested him with that authority which is still enjoyed by his descendants. At the same time the exercise of the Protestant religion was established in his dominions.

Ferdinand, how sensible soever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a prince whom all the Protestant powers in Germany were ready to support, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the most ample form, he recognised his title to the duchy. The success of the landgrave's operations in behalf of the duke of Wurtemberg having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Smalkalde was to be avoided

with the utmost care, he entered likewise into a negotiation with the elector of Saxony, the head of the union; and by some concessions in favour of the Protestant religion, and others of advantage to the elector himself, he prevailed on him, together with his confederates, to acknowledge his title as king of the Romans.

These acts of indulgence towards the Protestants, and the close union into which the king of the Romans seemed to be entering with the princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III. consequently proposed a council, and despatched nuncios to the several courts, in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold it. The French king did not approve of the place which Paul had chosen, as the papal and imperial influence would necessarily be too great in a town. The king of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refused, besides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the pope. The German Protestants having met together at Smalkalde, insisted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the emperor's promise, as well as the agreement at Ratisbon to that effect, declared that they would not consider an assembly held at Mantua as a legal or free representative of the church. They also renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became stronger and more formidable by the accession of several new members. During these transactions in Germany, the emperor undertook his famous enterprise against the piratical states in Africa, lying along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Massylia, together with the republic of Carthage, and now known by the general name of Barbary.

Daily complaints of the outrages committed by the cruizers of Barbarossa were brought to the

emperor by his subjects both in Spain and Italy. All Christendom seemed to expect from him, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, that he would put an end to this new and odious species of oppression. At the same Muley Hascen, who had been exiled from the kingdom of Tunis by that noted corsair, finding none of the Mahometan princes in Africa willing or able to assist him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the only person who could assert his rights in opposition to such a formidable usurper. The emperor, equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed, in that age, to every expedition against the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley Hascen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become so fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occasion, in person. The united strength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprise in which the emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemish fleet carried from the ports of the Low Country, a body of German infantry; the galleys of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards which had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French; the emperor himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable squadron from Portugal, under the command of the infant don Lewis, the empress's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own galleys, the best appointed at that time in Europe, and commanded by the most skilful officers; the pope furnished all the assistance in his power towards such a pious enterprise; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the infidels, equipped a squadron which.

though small, was formidable by the valour of the knights who served on board it. The port of Cagliari, in Sardinia, was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed high-admiral of the fleet; the command of the land-forces under the emperor was given to the marquis de Guasto.

On the 16th of July, the fleet, consisting of near 500 vessels, having on board above 30,000 regular troops, set sail from Cagliari, and after a prosperous navigation landed within sight of Tunis. Barbarossa, having received early intelligence of the emperor's immense armament, and suspecting its destination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conquest. He called in all his corsairs from their different stations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be spared; he despatched messengers to all the African princes, Moors as well as Arabs; and representing Muley Hascen as an infamous apostate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vassal of a Christian prince, but to conspire with him to extirpate the Mahometan faith, he inflamed those ignorant and bigoted chiefs to such a degree, that they took arms as in a common cause. Twenty thousand horse, together with a great body of foot, soon assembled at Tunis; and by a proper distribution of presents among them from time to time, Barbarossa kept the ardour which had brought them together from subsiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppose, to think that these light troops could resist the heavy-armed cavalry and veteran infantry which composed the imperial army, his chief confidence was in the strength of the Goletta, a fort commanding the bay of Tunis, and in his body of Turkish soldiers, who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Six thousand of these, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the bravest and most experienced of all his corsairs, he threw into that fort, which the emperor immediately in-



vested. As Charles had the command of the sea, his camp was so plentifully supplied, not only with the necessaries but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley Hascen, who had not been accustomed to see war carried on with such order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the emperor's power. His troops, animated by his presence, and considering it as meritorious to shed their blood in such a pious cause, contended with each other for the posts of honour and danger. Three separate attacks were concerted, and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, having one of these committed to each of them, pushed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inspires. Sinan displayed resolution and skill becoming the confidence which his master had put in him; the garrison performed the hard service on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies, though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incursions, the breaches soon became so considerable towards the land, while the fleet battered those parts of the fortifications which it could approach with no less fury and success, that an assault being given on all sides at once, the place was taken by storm. Sinan, with the remains of his garrison, retired, after an obstinate resistance, over a shallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the emperor became master of Barbarossa's fleet, consisting of eighty-seven galleys and galliots, together with his arsenal, and 300 cannon, mostly brass, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the strength of the fort, as well as of the greatness of the corsair's power. The emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach, and turning to Muley Hascen, who attended him, 'Here,' says he, 'is a gate open to you, by which you shall return to take possession of your dominions.'

Barbarossa, though he felt the full weight of the

blow which he had received, did not, however, lose courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would sustain the hardships of a siege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to 50,000 men, towards the imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the issue of a battle. This resolution he communicated to his principal officers, and representing to them the fatal consequences which might follow if 10,000 Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel, should attempt to mutiny during the absence of the army, he proposed as a necessary precaution for the public security, to massacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, the barbarity of his proposal concerning the slaves filled them with horror; and Barbarossa, rather from the dread of irritating them than swayed by motives of humanity, consented to spare the lives of the slaves.

By this time the emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops suffered inconceivable hardships in their march, over burning sands, destitute of water, and exposed to the intolerable heat of the sun, they soon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, imboldened by their vast superiority in number, immediately rushed on to the attack with loud shouts; but their undisciplined courage could not long stand the shock of regular battalions; and though Barbarossa, with admirable presence of mind, and by exposing his own person to the greatest dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became so general, that he himself was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; some of the inhabitants flying with their families and

effects. others ready to set open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkish soldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in such circumstances might have afforded him some refuge, already in the possession of the Christian captives. These unhappy men, rendered desperate by their situation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbarossa dreaded. As soon as his army was at some distance from the town, they gained two of their keepers, by whose assistance, knocking off their fetters and bursting open their prisons, they overpowered the Turkish garrison, and turned the artillery of the fort against their former masters. Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged, exclaiming sometimes against the false compassion of his officers, and sometimes condemning his own imprudent compliance with their opinion, fled precipitately to Bona.

Meanwhile Charles, satisfied with the easy and almost bloodless victory which he had gained, and advancing slowly with the precaution necessary in an enemy's country, did not yet know the whole extent of his own good fortune. But at last a messenger despatched by the slaves acquainted him with the success of their noble effort for the recovery of their liberty; and at the same time deputies arrived from the town, in order to present him the keys of their gates, and to implore his protection from military violence. While he was deliberating concerning the proper measures for this purpose, the soldiers, fearing that they should be deprived of the booty which they had expected, rushed suddenly and without orders into the town, and began to kill and plunder without distinction. Above 30,000 of the innocent inhabitants perished on that unhappy day, and 10,000 were carried away as slaves. Muley Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded with carnage, abhorred by his subjects, on whom he had brought such calamities, and pitied even by those whose rashness had been the occasion of them. The emperor lamented the

fatal accident which had stained the lustre of his victory; and amidst such a scene of horror there was but one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction. Ten thousand Christian slaves, among whom were several persons of distinction, met him as he entered the town; and falling on their knees, thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

At the same time that Charles accomplished his promise to the Moorish king, of re-establishing him in his dominions, he did not neglect what was necessary for bridling the power of the African corsairs, for the security of his own subjects, and for the interest of the Spanish crown, and in order to gain these ends concluded a treaty with Muley Hascen. Having thus settled the affairs of Africa; chastised the insolence of the corsairs; secured a safe retreat for the ships of his subjects, and a proper station to his own fleets on that coast from which he was most infested by piratical depredations, Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempestuous weather and sickness among his troops not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa.

By this expedition, the emperor attained a greater height of glory than at any other period of his reign. Twenty thousand slaves whom he freed from bondage, either by his arms or by his treaty with Muley Hascen, all of whom he clothed and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, spread all over Europe the fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling his power and abilities with the exaggeration flowing from gratitude and admiration.

## BOOK VI.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his contemporaries, his conduct at this juncture appeared a perfect contrast to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him by



the emperor's having turned his whole force against the common enemy of Christendom, to revive his pretensions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. Among others he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted to Charles for the possession of the duchy of Milan, had received it on such hard conditions as rendered him not only a vassal of the empire, but a tributary dependant upon the emperor. The honour of having married the emperor's niece did not reconcile him to this ignominious state of subjection, which became so intolerable even to Sforza, though a weak and poor-spirited prince, that he listened with eagerness to the first proposals Francis made of rescuing him from the yoke. These proposals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French historians, a Milanese gentleman residing at Paris: and soon after, in order to carry on the negotiation with greater advantage, Merveille was sent to Milan, on pretence of visiting his relations, but with secret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithstanding his care to keep that circumstance concealed, Charles suspecting or having received information of it, remonstrated and threatened in such a high tone, that the duke and his ministers, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a most infamous proof of their servile fear of offending the emperor. As Merveille had neither the prudence nor the temper which the function wherein he was employed required, they artfully decoyed him into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his antagonist, one of the duke's domestics, and having instantly seized him, they ordered him to be tried for that crime and to be beheaded. Francis, no less astonished at this violation of a character held sacred among the most uncivilized nations than enraged at the insult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the emperor, whom he considered as the real author of that unexampled

outrage. But receiving no satisfaction from either, he appealed to all the princes of Europe, and thought himself now entitled to take vengeance for an injury which it would have been indecent and pusillanimous to let pass with impunity.

Being thus furnished with a pretext for beginning a war on which he had already resolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his measures for this purpose were disconcerted by unforeseen events. After having sacrificed the honour of the royal family of France by the marriage of his son with Catharine of Medici in order to gain Clement, the death of that pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendship. Paul, his successor, though attached by inclination to the imperial interest, seemed determined to maintain the neutrality suitable to his character as the common father of the contending princes. The king of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined for once engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refused to assist Francis unless he would imitate his example in throwing off the papal supremacy. These disappointments led him to solicit with greater earnestness the aid of the Protestant princes associated by the league of Smalkalde, and he even condescended to invite Melancthon to visit Paris, that by his assistance he might concert the most proper measures for reconciling the contending sects which so unhappily divided the church. But the prejudices of the age, and the religious sentiments of his own subjects, called on him to vindicate himself by some extraordinary demonstration of his reverence for the established doctrines of the church. The indiscreet zeal of some of his subjects who had imbibed the Protestant opinions, furnished him with such an occasion as he desired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the popish church. Six of the persons concerned in this

rash action were discovered and seized. The king, in order to avert the judgments which it was supposed their blasphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a solemn procession. The holy sacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; and the nobles marched in order behind. In the presence of this numerous assembly, the king, accustomed to express himself on every subject in strong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not spare even his own children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earnest, the six unhappy persons were publicly burnt before the procession was finished, with circumstances of the most shocking barbarity attending their execution.

The princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protect in Germany those very tenets which he persecuted with such rigour in his own dominions. They consequently refused to assist the French king in any hostile attempt against the emperor. The elector of Saxony, the most zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to visit the court of France, although that reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of so great a monarch, or hoping that his presence there might be of signal advantage to the Protestant cause, discovered a strong inclination to undertake the journey.

But though none of the many princes who envied or dreaded the power of Charles would second Francis's efforts in order to reduce and circumscribe it, he nevertheless commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy. As his sole pretext

for taking arms was that he might chastise the duke of Milan for his insolent and cruel breach of the law of nations, it might have been expected that the whole weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on his territories. But on a sudden, and at their very commencement, the operations of war took another direction. Charles, duke of Savoy, one of the least active and able princes of the line from which he descended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the sister of the empress. By her great talents she soon acquired an absolute ascendant over her husband: and proud of her affinity to the emperor, or allured by the magnificent promises with which he flattered her ambition, she formed an union between the duke and the imperial court, extremely inconsistent with that neutrality which wise policy as well as the situation of his dominions had hitherto induced him to observe in all the quarrels between the contending monarchs. Francis was abundantly sensible of the distress to which he might be exposed, if, when he entered Italy, he should leave behind him the territories of a prince devoted so obsequiously to the emperor, that he had sent his eldest son to be educated in the court of Spain, as a kind of hostage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had represented this danger in a strong light during his interview with Francis at Marseilles, suggested to him at the same time, the proper method of guarding against it, having advised him to begin his operations against the Milanese by taking possession of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of securing a communication with his own dominions. Francis, highly irritated with the duke on many accounts, particularly for having supplied the constable Bourbon with the money that enabled him to levy the body of troops which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he resented and how severely he could punish these injuries. After seeking in vain some plausible pretext for com-



menacing hostilities, he sent his army under the admiral Brion into the duke's territories at different places. The countries of Bresse and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were overrun in a moment. Most of the towns in the duchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make resistance were easily taken; and before the end of the campaign, the duke saw himself stripped of all his dominions but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended.

To complete the duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed and in some degree possessed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territories. The citizens boldly asserted their independence against the duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful assistance which they received from the canton of Berne, together with some small supplies both of men and money secretly furnished by the king of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not satisfied with having repulsed him, or with remaining always upon the defensive themselves, they now took advantage of the duke's inability to resist them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and seized several castles and places of strength which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from those odious monuments of its former subjection, and rendering the public liberty more secure for the future. At the same time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Pays de Vaud, to which it had some pretensions. The canton of Friburg, though zealously attached to the Catholic religion, and having no subject of contest with the duke, laid hold on part of the spoils of that unfortunate prince.

Amidst such a succession of disastrous events the duke of Savoy had no other resource but the emperor's protection, which, upon his return from

Tunis, he demanded with the most earnest importunity ; and as his misfortunes were occasioned chiefly by his attachment to the imperial interest, he had a just title to immediate assistance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to support him with that vigour and despatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Most of the troops employed in the African expedition, having been raised for that service alone, were disbanded as soon as it was finished ; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were hardly sufficient for the defence of the Milanese ; and the emperor's treasury was entirely drained by his extraordinary efforts against the infidels.

But the death of Francis Sforza, occasioned, according to some historians, by the terror of a French invasion, which had twice been fatal to his family, afforded the emperor full leisure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event the nature of the war and the causes of discord were totally changed. Francis's first pretext for taking arms, in order to chastise Sforza for the insult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off ; but as that prince died without issue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his posterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milanese was the favourite object of that monarch, he instantly renewed his claim to it ; and if he had supported his pretensions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance without losing a moment towards Milan, he could hardly have failed to secure the important point of possession. But Francis endeavoured to establish his rights by negotiation, not by arms ; and neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which presented itself. Charles was more decisive in his operations, and, in quality of sovereign, took possession of the duchy, as a vacant fief of the empire.

Charles on his return from Tunis assembled the states both of Sicily and Naples ; and as they thought

themselves greatly honoured by the presence of their sovereign, and were no less pleased with the apparent disinterestedness of his expedition into Africa that dazzled by the success which had attended his arms, he prevailed on them to vote him such liberal subsidies as were seldom granted in that age. This enabled him to recruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Germans, and to take every other proper precaution for executing or supporting the measures on which he had determined.

The emperor now advanced towards Rome, and made his public entry into that city with extraordinary pomp. The French ambassadors having in their master's name demanded a definitive reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan, Charles promised to give it next day in presence of the pope and cardinals assembled in full consistory. These being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambassadors invited to attend, the emperor complained that all his endeavours to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the restless and unjust ambition of the French king; and animadverted in no measured terms upon the whole of his conduct. 'Let us not, however,' added he, 'continue wantonly to shed the blood of our innocent subjects; let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what arms he pleases to choose, in our shirts, on an island, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the duchy of Burgundy be put in deposit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; these shall be the prize of the conqueror: and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain, and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate heresy out of Christendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences renders war inevitable, nothing shall divert me from prosecuting it to such extremity as shall reduce one of us to be the poorest gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune shall fall: I enter upon

action with the fairest prospect of success; the justice of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to ensure it. Of all these advantages the king of France is destitute; and were my resources no more certain and my hopes of victory no better founded, than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and with folded hands and a rope about my neck implore his mercy.'

This long harangue the emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greatest vehemence of expression and gesture. The French ambassadors, who did not fully comprehend his meaning as he spoke in the Spanish tongue, were totally disconcerted and at a loss how they should answer such an unexpected invective: when one of them began to vindicate his master's conduct, Charles interposed abruptly, and would not permit him to proceed. The pope, without entering into any particular detail, satisfied himself with a short but pathetic recommendation of peace, together with an offer of employing his sincere endeavours in order to procure that blessing to Christendom; and the assembly broke up in the greatest astonishment at the extraordinary scene which had been exhibited.

Charles seems, indeed, to have been immediately sensible of the impropriety of his behaviour; and when the French ambassadors demanded next day a more clear explanation of what he had said concerning the combat, he told them that they were not to consider his proposal as a formal challenge to their master, but as an expedient for preventing bloodshed; he endeavoured to soften several expressions in his discourse; and spoke in terms full of respect towards Francis. But though this slight apology was far from being sufficient to remove the offence which had been given, Francis, by an unaccountable infatuation, continued to negotiate, as if it had still been possible to bring their differences to a period by an



amicable composition. Charles, finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained farther time to prepare for the execution of his own designs.

At last the imperial army assembled on the frontiers of the Milanese, to the amount of 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse; while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiss whom Charles artfully persuaded the popish cantons to recall, that they might not serve against the duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general, not daring to risk a battle, retired as soon as the imperialists advanced. The emperor put himself at the head of his forces, which the marquis del Guasto, the duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzago, commanded under him, though the supreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whose abilities and experience justly entitled him to that distinction. Charles soon discovered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy, but to push forward and invade the southern provinces of France. This scheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking measures for executing it with such vigour as might ensure success. He had remitted large sums to his sister, the governess of the Low Countries, and to his brother, the king of the Romans, instructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two separate bodies, the one to enter France on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the opposite frontier of the kingdom. Trusting to these vast preparations, he thought it impossible that Francis could resist so many unexpected attacks on such different quarters; and began his enterprise with such confidence of its happy issue, that he desired Jovius the historian to make a large provision of paper sufficient to record the victories which he was going to obtain. His ministers and generals

did not however entertain the same sanguine hopes, but Charles disregarded all their remonstrances. He not only adhered obstinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except such towns as were absolutely necessary for preserving his communication with the Milanese.

The marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had intrusted the command of a small body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered this more easy than Charles had any reason to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, distinguished by continual marks of the king's favour, and honoured so lately with a charge of such importance, suddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of disgust, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action were as childish as the deed itself was base. Being strongly possessed with a superstitious faith in divination and astrology, he believed with full assurance that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the emperor would establish an universal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence in attaching himself to his rising fortune, and could incur no blame for deserting a prince whom Heaven had devoted to destruction. His treason became still more odious, by his employing that very authority with which Francis had invested him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever measures were proposed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conquests, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himself, as commander-in-chief, to provide or perform for that purpose, he totally neglected. In this manner he rendered towns even of the greatest consequence untenable, by leaving them destitute either of provisions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a sufficient garrison; and the imperialists must have reduced Piedmont in as short a time as was necessary to march through it, if Montpezat, the governor of

Fossano, had not, by an extraordinary effort of courage and military conduct, detained them almost a month before that inconsiderable place.

By this meritorious and seasonable service he gained his master sufficient time for assembling his forces, and for concerting a system of defence against a danger which he now saw to be inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invasion of a powerful enemy; and his prudence in choosing this plan, as well as his perseverance in executing it, deserves the greater praise, as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper and to the genius of the French nation. He determined to remain altogether upon the defensive; never to hazard a battle, or even a great skirmish, without certainty of success; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garrisons only into towns of great strength; to deprive the enemy of subsistence by laying waste the country before them; and to save the whole kingdom by sacrificing one of its provinces. The execution of this plan he committed entirely to the Mareschal Montmorency, who was the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for such a trust. Haughty, severe, confident in his own abilities, and despising those of other men; incapable of being diverted from any resolution by remonstrances or entreaties; and in prosecuting any scheme, regardless alike of love or of pity.

Montmorency made choice of a strong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance, one of which plentifully supplied his troops with all necessaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that side where it was most probable the enemy would approach. He laboured with unwearied industry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and assembled there a considerable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the king with another body of troops encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marseilles and Arles

were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend; the former in order to retain the command of the sea; the latter, as the barrier of the province of Languedoc; and each of these he furnished with numerous garrisons of his best troops, commanded by officers on whose fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns, as well as of the open country, were compelled to abandon their houses, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland provinces. The fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter or defence to the enemy were thrown down. Corn, forage, and provisions of every kind, were carried away or destroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled up or rendered useless. The devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné; nor does history afford any instance among civilized nations in which this cruel expedient for the public safety was employed with the same rigour.

At length the emperor arrived with the van of his army on the frontiers of Provence, and was still so possessed with confidence of success, that during a few days when he was obliged to halt until the rest of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conquests among his officers; and as a new incitement to serve him with zeal, gave them liberal promises of offices, lands, and honours in France. The face of desolation, however, which presented itself to him, when he entered the country, began to damp his hopes; and convinced him that a monarch who, in order to distress an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richest provinces, would defend the rest with desperate obstinacy. Nor was it long before he became sensible that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which Charles chiefly depended for subsistence, was prevented for some time, by contrary winds and other accidents to which naval operations are subject, from approaching the French coast;



even after its arrival, it afforded at best a precarious and scanty supply to such a numerous body of troops; nothing was to be found in the country itself for their support; nor could they draw any considerable aid from the dominions of the duke of Savoy, exhausted already by maintaining two great armies. The emperor was no less embarrassed how to employ than how to subsist his forces; for though he was now in possession of almost an entire province, he could not be said to have the command of it while he held only defenceless towns, and while the French, besides their camp at Avignon, continued masters of Marseilles and Arles. At first he thought of attacking the camp, and of terminating the war by one decisive blow; but skilful officers who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable. He then gave orders to invest Marseilles and Arles, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous post in order to relieve them; but Montmorency, adhering firmly to his plan, remained immovable at Avignon, and the imperialists met with such a warm reception from the garrisons of both towns, that they relinquished their enterprises with loss and disgrace. As a last effort the emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, though with an army harassed by the perpetual incursions of small parties of the French light troops, weakened by diseases and dispirited by disasters, which seemed the more intolerable because they were unexpected.

At last Francis joined his army at Avignon, which having received several reinforcements, he now considered as of strength sufficient to face the enemy. As he had put no small constraint upon himself in consenting that his troops should remain so long upon the defensive, it can hardly be doubted but that his fondness for what was daring and splendid, added to the impatience both of officers and soldiers, would at last have overruled Montmorency's salutary caution.

Happily the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any rash resolution might have occasioned. The emperor, after spending two inglorious months in Provence, without having performed any thing suitable to his vast preparations, or that could justify the confidence with which he had boasted of his own power, found that, besides Antonio de Leyva and other officers of distinction, he had lost one-half of his troops by diseases or by famine, and that the rest were in no condition to struggle any longer with calamities by which so many of their companions had perished. Necessity, therefore, extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was some time in motion before the French suspected his intention, a body of light troops, assisted by crowds of peasants, eager to be revenged on those who had brought such desolation on their country, hung upon the rear of the imperialists, and by seizing every favourable opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confusion. The road by which they fled, for they pursued their march with such disorder and precipitation that it scarcely deserves the name of a retreat, was strewn with arms or baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the sick, the wounded, and the dead; insomuch that Martin Bellay, an eye-witness of their calamities, endeavours to give some idea of them, by comparing their miseries to those which the Jews suffered from the victorious and destructive arms of the Romans.

The emperor having conducted the shattered remains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan, and appointed the marquis del Guasto to succeed Leyva in the government of that duchy, set out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expose himself to the scorn of the Italians after such a sad reverse of fortune, and did not choose under his present circumstances to revisit those cities through which he had so lately

passed in triumph for one conquest and in certain expectation of another, he embarked directly for Spain.

Nor was the progress of his arms on the opposite frontier of France such as to alleviate in any degree the losses which he had sustained in Provence. Bellay, by his address and intrigues, had prevailed on so many of the German princes to withdraw the contingent of troops which they had furnished to the king of the Romans, that he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of his intended irruption into Champagne. Though a powerful army levied in the Low Countries entered Picardy, which they found but feebly guarded while the strength of the kingdom was drawn towards the south, yet the nobility, taking arms with their usual alacrity, supplied by their spirit the defects of the king's preparations, and defended Peronne, and other towns which were attacked, with such vigour as obliged the enemy to retire without making any conquest of importance.

One circumstance alone imbittered the joy with which the success of the campaign inspired Francis. That was the death of the dauphin, his eldest son, a prince of great hopes, and extremely beloved by the people on account of his resemblance to his father. This happening suddenly, was imputed to poison, not only by the vulgar, fond of ascribing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, but by the king and his ministers. But according to the most unprejudiced historians, the dauphin's death was occasioned by his having drank too freely of cold water after overheating himself at tennis; and this account, as it is the most simple, is likewise the most credible.

Next year opened with a transaction that would not deserve to be mentioned, if it were not a striking proof of the personal animosity existing between Charles and Francis. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his

seat in the parliament of Paris with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and after accusing Charles of Austria (for so he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was absolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders, insisted that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of the crown, and by consequence had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms against his sovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles should be summoned to appear in person, or by his counsel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to answer for this crime. The request was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and summoned him with the accustomed formalities to appear against a day prefixed. That term being expired and no person appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, 'That Charles of Austria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy those fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be reunited to the crown of France;' and ordered their decree for this purpose to be published by sound of trumpet on the frontiers of these provinces.

Soon after this vain display of his resentment rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, as if he had intended to execute the sentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to seize those territories which it had awarded to him. As the queen of Hungary, to whom her brother the emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for so early a campaign, he at first made some progress, and took several towns of importance. But being obliged soon to leave his army in order to superintend the other operations of war, the Flemings having assembled a numerous army, not only recovered most of the places which they had lost, but began to make conquests in their turn. At last they invested Terouenne; and the duke of Orleans, now dauphin



by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the constable's sword, as the reward of his great services during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpose, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were stopped short by the arrival of a herald from the queen of Hungary, acquainting him that a suspension of arms was now agreed upon.

This unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two sisters, the queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waste the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either. The French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both. Charles as well as Francis, who had each strained to the utmost in order to support the vast operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wished to push the war with the greatest vigour. All these circumstances facilitated the negotiations of the two queens; a truce was concluded, to continue in force for ten months, but it extended no farther than the Low Countries. In Piedmont the war was still prosecuted with great animosity. Towns were alternately lost and retaken; skirmishes were fought every day; and much blood was shed, without any action that gave a decided superiority to either side. At last the two queens prevailed, the one on her brother, the other on her husband, to consent also to a truce in Piedmont for three months. The conditions of it were, That each should keep possession of what was in his hands, and after leaving garrisons in the towns, should withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries should be appointed to adjust all matters in dispute by a final treaty.

What made a deep impression on Charles was the dread of the Turkish arms, which, by his league with Solyman, Francis had drawn upon him. Towards the close of the preceding year, La Forest, a secret agent at the Ottoman Porte, had concluded a treaty with the sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples during the next campaign, and to attack the king of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army, while Francis undertook to enter the Milanese at the same time with a proper force. Solyman had punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbarossa with a great fleet appeared on the coast of Naples; filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with consternation; landed without resistance near Taranto; obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender; plundered the adjacent country; and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquests; when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the pope's galleys and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary the progress of the Turks was more formidable. Mahmet their general, after gaining several small advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek on the Drave. As the emperor knew that he could not long resist the efforts of two such powerful confederates, he thought it necessary, both for his safety and reputation, to give his consent to a truce. Nor was Francis averse to such a measure, though the plenipotentiaries found insuperable difficulties in settling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would so far acknowledge his inferiority as to sacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquish any matter of right; so that the plenipotentiaries spent the time in long and fruitless negotiations, and separated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months.

The pope, however, took upon himself the sole

burden of negotiating a peace. To form a confederacy capable of defending Christendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkish arms, and to concert effectual measures for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart, and he considered the union of the emperor with the king of France as an essential preliminary to both. He proposed an interview between the two monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in person, that he might act as mediator in composing all their differences. Charles and Francis both came to the place of rendezvous, but refused to see one another, and every thing was transacted by the intervention of the pope, who visited them alternately. With all his zeal and ingenuity he could not find out a method of removing the obstacles which prevented a final accommodation, particularly those arising from the possession of the Milanese; nor was all the weight of his authority sufficient to overcome the obstinate perseverance of either monarch in asserting his own claims. At last, that he might not seem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to sign a truce for ten years, upon the same condition with the former, that each should retain what was now in his possession, and in the mean time should send ambassadors to Rome, to discuss their pretensions at leisure, and thus ended a war of no long continuance, but very extensive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmost strength.

A few days after signing the treaty of truce, the emperor set sail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the island St. Margaret, on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview with him at Aigues-mortes. The emperor, who would not be outdone by his rival in complai-

sance, instantly repaired thither. As soon as he cast anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to settle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. Next day the emperor repaid the confidence which the king had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night, and in both visits the two monarchs vied with each other in expressions of respect and friendship.

The pope, besides the glory of having restored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great consequence to his family, by prevailing on the emperor to betroth Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander di Medici, who had been basely assassinated by Lorenzo his nearest kinsman, to his grandson Octavio Farnese, and in consideration of this marriage, to bestow several honours and territories upon his future son-in-law. On the death of Alexander, Cosmo di Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illustrious house was placed at the head of the government; and though Lorenzo, aided by the exiled republicans and the French ambassador at Rome, and secretly encouraged by the pope, endeavoured to restore the popular form of government, all their measures were eventually broken, and the authority of Cosmo fully established. But though he was extremely desirous of the additional honour of marrying the emperor's daughter, the widow of his predecessor, Charles, secure already of his attachment, chose rather to gratify the pope by bestowing her on his nephew.

During the war between the emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in some degree the warmth and cordiality of friendship which had long subsisted between the latter and the king of



England. James the Fifth of Scotland, an enterprising young prince, having heard of the emperor's intention to invade Provence, was so fond of shewing that he did not yield to any of his ancestors in the sincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and so eager to distinguish himself by some military exploit, that he levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in person to the assistance of the king of France. Though some unfortunate accident prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in person. Immediately upon his landing he hastened to Provence, but had been detained so long in his voyage, that he came too late to have any share in the military operations, and met the king on his return after the retreat of the imperialists. But Francis was so greatly pleased with his zeal, and no less with his manners and conversation, that he could not refuse him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. It mortified Henry extremely to see a prince of whom he was immoderately jealous, form an alliance from which he derived such an accession of reputation as well as security. He could not, however, with decency oppose Francis's bestowing his daughter upon a monarch descended from a race of princes the most ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the sudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his second wife Mary of Guise, he warmly solicited Francis to deny his suit, and, in order to disappoint him, asked that lady in marriage for himself. When Francis preferred the Scottish king's sincere courtship to his artful and malevolent proposal, he discovered much dissatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new suspicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendship for the sake of new connexions with the emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of

the English king, and watchful to observe all the shiftings and caprices of his passions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negotiations with him, which had been long broken off. He began with proposing several marriage-treaties to the king, and by many reciprocal professions of civility and esteem, considerably abated the edge of Henry's rancour against him.

The ambitious schemes in which the emperor had been engaged, and the wars he had been carrying on for some years, proved, as usual, extremely favourable to the progress of the Reformation in Germany. The pope had proposed a general council to be held at Mantua, but the Protestants continuing refractory, he transferred the place of meeting to Vicenza, in the Venetian territories, and appointed it to assemble on the 1st of May in the year 1539. As neither the emperor nor the French king, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their subjects to repair thither, not a single prelate appeared on the day prefixed; and the pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by so many ineffectual efforts to convoke that assembly, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation.

But that he might not seem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accomplish, while he neglected that which was in his power, he deputed a certain number of cardinals and bishops, with full authority to inquire into the abuses and corruptions of the Roman court, and to propose the most effectual method of removing them. This scrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on slowly and with remissness. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep or of discovering too much. But even by this partial examination many irregularities were detected and many enormities exposed to light, while the remedies which they suggested as most proper were either inadequate or were never applied. The report and resolution of these deputies, though

intended to be kept secret, were transmitted by some accident into Germany, and being immediately made public, afforded ample matter for reflection and triumph to the Protestants.

The earnestness with which the emperor seemed at first to press their acquiescing in the pope's scheme of holding a council in Italy, alarmed the Protestant princes so much, that they thought it prudent to strengthen the confederacy by admitting several new members who solicited that privilege, particularly the king of Denmark. Heldo, the emperor's vice-chancellor, who during his residence in Germany had observed all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the Catholic powers of the empire. This league, distinguished by the name of *holy*, was merely defensive ; and though concluded by Heldo in the emperor's name, was afterwards disowned by him, and subscribed by very few princes.

The Protestants took the alarm, but with little reason, for at an interview in Francfort with the emperor's ambassadors, it was agreed that all concessions in their favour, particularly those contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, should continue in force for fifteen months ; that during this period all proceedings of the imperial chamber against them should be suspended ; that a conference should be held by a few divines of each party, in order to discuss the points in controversy, and to propose articles of accommodation which should be laid before the next diet. Though the emperor, that he might not irritate the pope, who remonstrated against the first part of this agreement as impolitic, and against the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was observed with considerable exactness, and greatly strengthened the basis of that ecclesiastical liberty for which the Protestants contended.

A few days after the convention at Francfort, George, duke of Saxony, died, and his death was an

event of great advantage to the Reformation. As he died without issue, his succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the Protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery. Henry no sooner took possession of his new dominions, than, disregarding a clause in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the emperor, and king of the Romans, if his brother should attempt to make any innovation in religion, he invited some Protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipsic. By their advice and assistance he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their duke alone had hitherto prevented. This revolution delivered the Protestants from the danger to which they were exposed by having an inveterate enemy situated in the middle of their territories; and they had now the satisfaction of seeing that the possessions of the princes and cities attached to their cause extended in one great and almost unbroken line from the shore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.

Soon after the conclusion of the truce at Nice, the troops of Charles, in consequence of the non-payment of their arrears, broke out into open rebellion. But by the address and prudence of their generals, these insurrections were quelled. The greater part of the troops were disbanded, such a number only being kept in pay as was necessary for garrisoning the principal towns, and protecting the sea-coasts from the insults of the Turks.

The citizens of Ghent not long after broke out into open rebellion against the emperor. An event which happened in the year 1536 gave occasion to this rash insurrection, so fatal to that flourishing city. At that time the queen dowager of Hungary, governess of the Netherlands, having received orders



from her brother to invade France with all the forces which she could raise, she assembled the states of the United Provinces, and obtained from them a subsidy of 1,200,000 florins to defray the expense of that undertaking. Of this sum the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its proportion. But the citizens of Ghent refused to pay their quota. The queen, though she endeavoured at first to soothe them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various concessions, was at last so much irritated by the obstinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that she ordered all the citizens of Ghent on whom she could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arrested. But this rash action made an impression very different from what she expected on men whose minds were agitated with all the violent passions which indignation at oppression and zeal for liberty inspire. Less affected with the danger of their friends and companions than irritated at the governess, they openly despised her authority, and sent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at such a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights against the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconsiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy against the governess: they joined, however, in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax so long, that they might have it in their power to send some of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their sovereign. This she granted with some difficulty. But Charles received their commissioners with a haughtiness to which they were not accustomed from their ancient princes, and enjoining them to yield the same respectful obedience to his sister which they owed to him in person, remitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a standing committee of the parliament or states of the country, and which possesses the

supreme jurisdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal, pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill-founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay their proportion of the tax.

Enraged at this decision, which they considered as notoriously unjust, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner; drove such of the nobility as resided among them out of the city; secured several of the emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accused of having stolen or destroyed the record that contained a ratification of the privilege of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; chose a council, to which they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifications; and openly erected the standard of rebellion against their sovereign. Sensible, however, of their inability to support what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and desirous of securing a protector against the formidable forces by which they might expect soon to be attacked, they sent some of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to put him in immediate possession of Ghent, but to assist him with all their forces in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been so lately reunited to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected proposition, coming from persons who had it in their power to have performed instantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute so effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened great as well as alluring prospects to Francis's ambition. Several considerations, nevertheless, prevented him from laying hold of this opportunity, the most favourable in appearance which had ever presented itself, of extending his own dominions or distressing the emperor. He consequently rejected the

propositions of the citizens of Ghent, dismissed their deputies with a harsh answer, and, not satisfied with this, by a farther refinement in generosity, communicated to the emperor his whole negotiation with the malcontents, and all that he knew of their schemes and intentions.

Under these circumstances, Charles determined to go in person to the Netherlands, and having promised Francis that he would soon settle the affair of the Milanese to his satisfaction, readily obtained permission to pass through his territories. He set out, notwithstanding the fears and suspicions of his Spanish subjects, with a small but splendid train of about a hundred persons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, attended by the constable Montmorency. The two princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hostages for the emperor's safety; but this he rejected, declaring that he relied with implicit confidence on the king's honour, and had never demanded nor would accept of any other pledge for his security. In all the towns through which he passed, the greatest possible magnificence was displayed; the magistrates presented him the keys of the gates; the prison doors were set open; and by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the sovereign of the country than a foreign prince. The king advanced as far as Chatelherault to meet him; their interview was distinguished by the warmest expressions of friendship and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and presented to the inhabitants of that city the extraordinary spectacle of two rival monarchs whose enmity had disturbed and laid waste Europe during twenty years, making their solemn entry together with all the symptoms of a confidential harmony, as if they had forgotten for ever past injuries, and would not revive hostilities for the future.

Charles remained six days at Paris; but amidst the perpetual caresses of the French court, and the

various entertainments contrived to amuse or to ~~in~~ him honour, he discovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, arising as much from an apprehension of danger, which constantly haunted him, as from the necessity of his presence in the Low Countries. As soon as the emperor reached his own territories, the French ambassadors demanded the accomplishment of what he had promised concerning the investiture of Milan; but Charles, under the plausible pretext that his whole attention was then engrossed by the consultations necessary towards suppressing the rebellion in Ghent, put off the matter for some time. But in order to prevent Francis from suspecting his sincerity, he still continued to talk of his resolutions with respect to that matter in the same strain as when he entered France, and even wrote to the king much to the same purpose, though in general terms and with equivocal expressions, which he might afterwards explain away or interpret at pleasure.

Meanwhile the unfortunate citizens of Ghent, destitute of leaders capable either of directing their councils or conducting their troops; abandoned by the French king, and unsupported by their countrymen, were unable to resist their offended sovereign, who was ready to advance against them with one body of troops which he had raised in the Netherlands, with another drawn out of Germany, and a third which had arrived from Spain by sea. The near approach of danger made them, at last, so sensible of their own folly, that they sent ambassadors to the emperor, imploring his mercy, and offering to set open their gates at his approach. Charles, without vouchsafing them any other answer than that he would appear among them as their sovereign, with the sceptre and sword in his hand, began his march at the head of his troops. Though he chose to enter the city on the 24th of February, his birthday, he was touched with nothing of that tenderness or indulgence which was natural towards the place



of his nativity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number was sent into banishment; the city was declared to have forfeited all its privileges and immunities; the revenues belonging to it were confiscated; its ancient form of government was abolished; the nomination of its magistrates was vested for the future in the emperor and his successors; a new system of laws and political administration was prescribed; and in order to bridle the seditious spirit of the citizens, orders were given to erect a strong citadel, for defraying the expense of which, a fine of 150,000 florins was imposed on the inhabitants, together with an annual tax of 6000 florins for the support of the garrison. By these rigorous proceedings Charles not only punished the citizens of Ghent, but set an awful example of severity before his other subjects in the Netherlands, whose immunities and privileges, partly the effect, partly the cause, of their extensive commerce, circumscribed the prerogative of their sovereign within very narrow bounds, and often stood in the way of measures which he wished to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations.

Charles having thus vindicated and re-established his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing the same scene of falsehood and dissimulation with which he had long amused Francis, began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the Milanese, and at last peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy by diminishing his own power. He denied at the same time, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish, and so contrary to his own interest.

But singular as the transaction which has been related may appear, the year 1540 is rendered still more memorable by the establishment of the order of Jesuits, a body whose influence on ecclesiastical as

well as civil affairs hath been so considerable, that an account of the genius of its laws and government justly merits a place in history. The Jesuits as well as the other monastic orders are indebted for the existence of their order not to the wisdom of their founder, but to his enthusiasm. Ignatio Loyola was a fanatic distinguished by extravagances in sentiment and conduct no less incompatible with the maxims of sober reason than repugnant to the spirit of true religion. The wild adventures and visionary schemes in which his enthusiasm engaged him equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Roman saints, but are unworthy of notice in history.

Prompted by this fanatical spirit, or incited by the love of power and distinction, from which such pretenders to superior sanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan which he formed of its constitution and laws was suggested, as he gave out, and as his followers still teach, by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. But notwithstanding this high pretension, his design met at first with violent opposition. The pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the sanction of his authority to confirm the institution, referred his petition to a committee of cardinals. They represented the establishment to be unnecessary as well as dangerous, and Paul refused to grant his approbation of it. At last Loyola removed all his scruples by an offer which it was impossible for any pope to resist. He proposed, that besides three vows of poverty, of chastity, and of monastic obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his society should take a fourth vow of obedience to the pope, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the holy see for their support. At a time when the papal authority had received such a shock by the evolt of so many nations from the Romish church ; at a time when every part of the popish system was

attacked with so much violence and success, the acquisition of a body of men thus peculiarly devoted to the see of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul instantly perceiving this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits by his bull granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society; and appointed Loyola to be the first general of the order. The event hath fully justified Paul's discernment, in expecting such beneficial consequences to the see of Rome from this institution. In less than half a century the society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman Catholic church; its power and wealth increased amazingly; the number of its members became great; their character as well as accomplishments were still greater; and the Jesuits were celebrated by the friends and dreaded by the enemies of the Romish faith, as the most able and enterprising order in the church.

The constitution and laws of the society were perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two generals who succeeded Loyola, men far superior to their master in abilities and in the science of government. The primary object of almost all the monastic orders is to separate men from the world, and from any concern in its affairs; but on the contrary, the Jesuits are taught to consider themselves as formed for action. The other orders are to be regarded as voluntary associations, in which whatever affects the whole body is regulated by the common suffrage of all its members. But Loyola appointed that the government of the Jesuits should be purely monarchical. A general chosen for life by deputies from the several provinces, possessed power that was supreme and independent, extending to every person and to every case. There is not in the annals of mankind any example of such a perfect despotism, exercised not over monks shut up in the cells of a convent,

but over men dispersed among all the nations of the earth.

As it was the professed intention of the order of Jesuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the salvation of men, this engaged them, of course, in many active functions. From their first institution they considered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors; they preached frequently in order to instruct the people; they set out as missionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its objects, procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the society had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour, and in a short time the number as well as influence of its members increased wonderfully. Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of almost all its monarchs, a function of no small importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person of rank or power. They possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most zealous and able champions for its authority. The advantages which an active and enterprising body of men might derive from all these circumstances are obvious. They formed the minds of men in their youth. They retained an ascendant over them in their advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrigue and revolution. The general, by means of the extensive intelligence which he received, could regulate the operations of the order with the most perfect discernment, and by means of his absolute power,



could carry them on with the utmost vigour and effect.

Together with the power of the order its wealth continued to increase. Various expedients were devised for eluding the obligation of the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample possessions in every Catholic country; and by the number as well as magnificence of its public buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the most opulent of monastic fraternities. Besides the sources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jesuits possessed one which was peculiar to themselves. Under pretext of promoting the success of their missions and of facilitating the support of their missionaries, they obtained a special licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In consequence of this they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies. They opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They acquired possession, accordingly, of a large and fertile province in the southern continent of America, and reigned as sovereigns over some hundred thousand subjects.

The Jesuits gained no considerable degree of power during the reign of Charles V., who with his usual sagacity discerned the dangerous tendency of the institution, and checked its progress. The subsequent history of this mighty body, the causes which occasioned its ruin, as well as the circumstances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent observer of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this history.

No sooner had Charles re-established order in

the Low Countries than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs in Germany. The Protestants pressed him earnestly to appoint that conference between a select number of the divines of each party which had been stipulated in the convention at Francfort. The pope considered such an attempt to examine into the points in dispute, or to decide concerning them, as derogatory to his right of being the supreme judge in controversy; and being convinced that such a conference would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, he employed every art to prevent it. The emperor, however, finding it more for his interest to soothe the Germans than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonstrances. In a diet held at Huguénaw, matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet assembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one side, and Eckius on the other, sustaining the principal part in the dispute; but after they had made some progress, though without concluding any thing, it was suspended by the emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater solemnity in his own presence in a diet summoned to meet at Ratisbon. This assembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and decisive. By the consent of both parties the emperor was intrusted with the power of nominating the persons who should manage the conference, which it was agreed should be conducted not in the form of a public disputation, but as a friendly scrutiny or examination into the articles which had given rise to the present controversies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper, and Pflug on the part of the Catholics; Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius on that of the Protestants: all men of distinguished reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for moderation as well as desirous of peace. As they were about to begin their consultations, the emperor put

into their hands a book, composed, as he said, by a learned divine in the Low Countries, with such extraordinary perspicuity and temper, as, in his opinion, might go far to unite and comprehend the two contending parties.

As it was more easy in itself, as well as more consistent with the dignity of the church, to make concessions and even alterations with regard to speculative opinions, the discussion whereof is confined chiefly to schools, and which present nothing to the people that either strikes their imagination or affects their senses, they came to an accommodation about these without much labour, and even defined the great article concerning justification to their mutual satisfaction. But when they proceeded to points of jurisdiction, where the interest and authority of the Roman see were concerned, or to the rites and forms of external worship, where every change that could be made must be public and draw the observation of the people, there the Catholics were altogether intractable; nor could the church either with safety or with honour abolish its ancient institutions. All the articles relative to the power of the pope, the authority of councils, the administration of the sacraments, the worship of saints, and many other particulars, did not in their nature admit of any temperament; so that, after labouring long to bring about an accommodation with respect to these, the emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual. Being impatient, however, to close the diet, he at last prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following recess: 'That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed in the conference should be held as points decided, and be observed inviolably by all; that the other articles about which they had differed should be referred to the determination of a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod of Germany; and if it should prove impracticable, likewise, to assemble a synod, that a general diet

of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give some final judgment upon the whole controversy ; that the emperor should use all his interest and authority with the pope, to procure the meeting either of a general council or synod ; that in the mean time, no innovations should be attempted, no endeavours should be employed to gain proselytes, and neither the revenues of the church nor the rights of monasteries should be invaded.'

All the proceedings of this diet, as well as the recess in which they terminated, gave great offence to the pope. The Protestants were no less dissatisfied with a recess that considerably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly against it, Charles, unwilling to leave any seeds of discontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration in the most ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppressive or injurious in the recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed.

Extraordinary as these concessions may appear, the situation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made it necessary for him to grant them. He foresaw a rupture with France to be not only unavoidable but near at hand, and durst not give any such cause of disgust or fear to the Protestants as might force them, in self-defence, to court the protection of the French king, from whom at present they were much alienated. The rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary was a more powerful and urgent motive to that moderation which Charles discovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom : John Zapol Scæpus had, by the assistance of his mighty protector Solyman, wrested from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious possession of the rest. But being a prince of pacific qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partisans among the Hungarians, to recover what



they had lost, greatly disquieted him ; and the necessity on these occasions of calling in the Turks, whom he considered and felt to be his masters rather than auxiliaries, was hardly less mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid these distresses, as well as to secure quiet and leisure for cultivating the arts and enjoying amusements in which he delighted, he secretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition :—That Ferdinand should acknowledge him as king of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmolested possession of that part of the kingdom now in his power ; but that upon his demise the sole right of the whole should devolve upon Ferdinand. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract seemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But soon after, some of the Hungarian nobles, solicitous to prevent a foreigner from ascending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to a long celibacy by marrying Isabella, the daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland. John had the satisfaction before his death, which happened within less than a year after his marriage, to see a son born to inherit his kingdom. To him, without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, he bequeathed his crown ; appointing the queen and George Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, guardians of his son and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young prince as king, to whom, in memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen.

Ferdinand, extremely disconcerted by this unexpected event, attempted to obtain possession of the kingdom, but being opposed by Solymán, was unsuccessful ; and the sultan, weary of so many expensive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, by an ungenerous line of conduct managed to annex Hungary to his own dominions. Solymán, moreover, declared, that he would not suspend the operations of war unless

Ferdinand instantly evacuated all the towns which he still held in Hungary, and consented to the imposition of a tribute upon Austria, in order to reimburse the sums which his presumptuous invasion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom.

In this state were the affairs of Hungary. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the dissolution of the diet of Ratisbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles saw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans while a formidable enemy was ready to break into the empire, and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous assistance, either towards the recovery of Hungary or the defence of the Austrian frontier, unless he courted and satisfied the Protestants. By the concessions which have been mentioned he gained this point, and such liberal supplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war against the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the security of Germany during the next campaign.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the diet the emperor set out for Italy. As he passed through Lucca he had a short interview with the pope; but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of composing the religious disputes in Germany, between two princes whose views and interests with regard to that matter were at this juncture so opposite. The pope's endeavours to remove the causes of discord between Charles and Francis, and to extinguish those mutual animosities which threatened to break out suddenly into open hostility, were not more successful.

The emperor's thoughts were bent so entirely, at that time, on the great enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers, that he listened with little attention to the pope's schemes or overtures, and hastened to join his army and fleet.

Algiers still continued in that state of dependence

on the Turkish empire to which Barbarossa had subjected it. Ever since he, as captain basha, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Algiers had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegado eunuch, who, by passing through every station in the corsair's service, had acquired such experience in war, that he was well fitted for a station which required a man of tried and daring courage. Hascen, in order to shew how well he deserved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations against the Christian states with amazing activity, and outdid, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent alarms given to the coast of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at proper distances, and of keeping guards constantly on foot, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their descents. Of this the emperor had received repeated and clamorous complaints from his subjects, who represented it as an enterprise corresponding to his power, and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, since the conquest of Tunis, was the common receptacle of all the freebooters; and to exterminate that lawless race, the implacable enemies of the Christian name. Moved partly by their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his last expedition into Africa, Charles, before he left Madrid in his way to the Low Countries, had issued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for this purpose. He paid no regard to the pope, who advised, or to Andrew Doria, who conjured, him not to expose his whole armament to almost unavoidable destruction by venturing to approach the dangerous coast of Algiers at such an advanced season of the year, and when the autumnal winds were so violent. Having embarked on board Doria's galleys at Porto-Venere in the Genoese territories, he soon

found that this experienced sailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was so well acquainted; for such a storm arose that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous. The force which he had collected consisted of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, mostly veterans, together with 3,000 volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the emperor by attending him in his favourite expedition, and eager to share in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to these were added 1,000 soldiers sent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by 100 of its most gallant knights.

The voyage from Majorca to the African coast was not less tedious or full of hazard than that which he had just finished. When he approached the land, the roll of the sea and the vehemence of the winds would not permit the troops to disembark. But at last the emperor, seizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without opposition not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army Hascen had only 800 Turks and 5,000 Moors, partly natives of Africa and partly refugees from Granada.

But how far soever the emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts avail nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for anything but to disperse some light-armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind; and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury without tents or shel-



ter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp, being in a low situation, was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud, while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning he sallied out with soldiers, who having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them discovered greater courage; but as the rain had extinguished their matches and wet their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

But all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and 140 transports with 8,000 men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews as escaped the fury of the sea, were murdered without mercy by the Arabs, as soon as they reached

land. The emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that as many ships might escape as would be sufficient to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes: the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness; and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storm, to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day a boat despatched by Doria made shift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years' knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz. He advised the emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

Metafuz was at least three days' march from his present camp; all the provisions which he had brought ashore at his first landing were now consumed; his soldiers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able for such a march, even in a friendly country; and being dispirited by a succession of hardships, which victory itself would scarcely have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the situation of the army was such as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the least

doubtful what to choose. They were ordered instantly to march, the wounded, the sick, and the feeble, being placed in the centre; such as seemed most vigorous were stationed in the front and rear. Then the sad effects of what they had suffered began to appear more manifestly than ever, and new calamities were added to all those which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms; others, spent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almost impassable roads, sunk down and died; many perished by famine; as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or the flesh of horses, killed by the emperor's order, and distributed among the several battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were swoln so much by the excessive rains, that in passing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greatest part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed, and annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions, and cheered with the prospect of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities the emperor appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By these virtues Charles atoned, in some degree, for his obstinacy and presumption in undertaking an expedition so fatal to his subjects.

The calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprise did not end here; for no sooner were the forces got on board than a new storm arising, though

less furious than the former, scattered the fleet, and obliged them, separately, to make towards such ports in Spain or Italy as they could first reach; thus spreading the account of their disasters, with all the circumstances of aggravation and horror which their imagination, still under the influence of fear, suggested. The emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks, arrived at last in Spain, in a condition very different from that in which he had returned from his former expedition against the infidels.

## BOOK VII.

THE calamities which the emperor suffered in his unfortunate enterprise against Algiers were great; and the account of these, which augmented in proportion as it spread at a greater distance from the scene of his disasters, encouraged Francis to begin hostilities, on which he had been for some time resolved. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the imperial generals furnished him with a reason to justify his taking arms. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the Milanese, had employed some soldiers belonging to the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fregoso, the French king's ambassadors at the Porte and Venice, as they sailed down the Po, on a mission to Constantinople, who murdered them and most of their attendants, and seized their papers. Francis sent an ambassador to the emperor to demand suitable reparation for an indignity which no prince, how inconsiderable or pusillanimous soever, could tamely endure: and when Charles, impatient at that time to set out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury



the spirit of moderation with which he had applied for redress, and the iniquity of the emperor in disregarding this just request.

Francis brought into the field five armies. One to act in Luxembourg under the duke of Orleans, accompanied by the duke of Lorraine, as his instructor in the art of war ; another, commanded by the dauphin, marched towards the frontiers of Spain ; a third, led by Van Rossem the marshal of Gueldres, and composed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Brabant allotted for the theatre of its operations ; a fourth, of which the duke of Vendome was general, hovered on the borders of Flanders ; the last, consisting of the forces cantoned in Piedmont, was destined for the admiral Annebaut. The dauphin and his brother were appointed to command where the chief exertions were intended and the greatest honour to be reaped ; the army of the former amounted to 40,000, that of the latter to 30,000 men.

The dauphin and duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the same time ; the former laying siege to Perpignan, the capital of Rousillon, and the latter entering Luxembourg. The duke of Orleans pushed his operations with the greatest rapidity and success, one town falling after another, until no place in that large duchy remained in the emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of overrunning the adjacent provinces with the same ease, if he had not voluntarily stopped short in this career of victory. But a report prevailing that the emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to save Perpignan, on a sudden the duke, prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealousy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conquest, and hastened towards Rousillon, in order to divide with him the glory of the victory. On his departure some of his troops were disbanded, others deserted their colours, and the rest, cantoned in the towns which he had

taken, remained inactive. Perpignan, though poorly fortified and briskly attacked, having been largely supplied with ammunition and provisions by the vigilance of Doria, was defended so long and so vigorously by the duke of Alva, the persevering obstinacy of whose temper fitted him admirably for such a service, that at last the French, after a siege of three months, wasted by diseases, repulsed in several assaults, and despairing of success, relinquished the undertaking and retired into their own country. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from some defect in his own conduct or from the superior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects which bore any proportion to his expense and efforts, or such as gratified, in any degree, his own hopes, or answered the expectation of Europe. The only solid advantage of the campaign was the acquisition of a few towns in Piedmont, which Bellay gained rather by stratagem and address than by force of arms.

The emperor and Francis, though both considerably exhausted by such great but indecisive efforts, discovering no abatement of their mutual animosity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themselves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with such a reinforcement of strength as would give them the superiority in the ensuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and resentment of the Spaniards upon the sudden invasion of their country, prevailed on the cortes of the several kingdoms to grant him subsidies with a more liberal hand than usual. At the same time he borrowed a large sum from John, king of Portugal, and, by way of security for his repayment, put him in possession of the Molucca Isles in the East Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious spices which that sequestered corner of the globe yields. Not satisfied with this, he negotiated a marriage between Philip his only son, now in his sixteenth year, and Mary, daughter of

that monarch, with whom her father, the most opulent prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewise persuaded the cortes of Aragon and Valentia to recognise Philip as the heir of these crowns, he obtained from them the donative usual on such occasions. These extraordinary supplies enabled him to make such additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low Countries, and yet reserve as many as were sufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the security of Spain, and committed the government of it to his son, he sailed for Italy, in his way to Germany.

But Charles, while he seemed to have turned his whole attention towards raising the sums necessary for defraying the expenses of the year, had not been negligent of objects more distant though no less important, and had concluded a league offensive and defensive with Henry VIII., from which he derived, in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several slight circumstances had begun to alienate the affections of that monarch from Francis, with whom he had been for some time in close alliance, and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increase his disgust and animosity. Henry, desirous of establishing a uniformity in religion in both the British kingdoms, as well as fond of making proselytes to his own opinions, had formed a scheme of persuading his nephew the king of Scots to renounce the pope's supremacy, and to adopt the same system of reformation which he had introduced into England. This measure he pursued with his usual eagerness and impetuosity, making such advantageous offers to James, whom he considered as not over-scrupulously attached to any religious tenets, that he hardly doubted of success. His propositions were accordingly received in such a manner that he flattered himself with having gained his point. But the Scottish ecclesiastics, foreseeing how fatal the union of their sovereign

with England must prove both to their own power and to the established system of religion, and the partisans of France, no less convinced that it would put an end to the influence of that crown upon the public councils of Scotland, combined together, and by their insinuations defeated Henry's scheme at the very moment when he expected it to have taken effect. Too haughty to brook such a disappointment, which he imputed as much to the arts of the French as to the levity of the Scottish monarch, he took arms against Scotland, threatening to subdue the kingdom, since he could not gain the friendship of its king. At the same time his resentment against Francis quickened his negotiations with the emperor, an alliance with whom he was now as forward to accept as the other could be to offer it. During this war with Scotland, and before the conclusion of his negotiations with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown to Mary, his only daughter, an infant a few days old. Upon this event Henry altered at once his whole system with regard to Scotland, and abandoning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at what was more advantageous as well as more practicable, an union with that kingdom by a marriage between Edward his only son and the young queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous opposition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to bestir itself in order to thwart the measure. The necessity of crushing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furnishing them any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's resolution of breaking with France, and pushed him on to put a finishing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the emperor.

Francis, on his part, redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman such aid as might counterbalance the great accession of strength which the emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to supply the place of the two ambassadors who had been murdered by Guasto, he sent as his



envoy, first to Venice and then to Constantinople, Paulin, who, though in no higher rank than a captain of foot, was deemed worthy of being raised to this important station. Hastening to Constantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was exposed, he urged his master's demands with such boldness, and availed himself of every circumstance with such dexterity, that he soon removed all the sultan's difficulties, and at last obtained orders for Barbarossa to sail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French king.

Long before any army was in readiness to oppose him, Francis took the field in the Low Countries, against which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himself master of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault, and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning from thence to the right, he entered the duchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the same defenceless state as in the former year. While he was thus employed, the emperor, having drawn together an army composed of all the different nations subject to his government, entered the territories of the duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. Unable with his feeble army to face the emperor, who advanced at the head of 44,000 men, he retired at his approach; and the imperialists being at liberty to act as they pleased, immediately invested Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was taken by assault; all the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the place itself reduced to ashes. This dreadful example of severity struck the people of the country with such general terror, that all the other towns, even such as were capable of resistance, sent their keys to the emperor; and before a body of French detached to his assistance could come up, the duke himself was obliged to make his submission to Charles in the most abject manner. Being admitted into the imperial presence, he kneeled, together with

eight of his principal subjects, and implored mercy. The emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious posture, and eyeing him with a haughty and severe look, without deigning to answer a single word, remitted him to his ministers. The conditions, however, which they prescribed were not so rigorous as he had reason to have expected after such a reception. He was obliged to renounce his alliance with France and Denmark ; to resign all his pretensions to the duchy of Gueldres ; to enter into perpetual amity with the emperor and king of the Romans. In return for which, all his hereditary dominions were restored except two towns, which the emperor kept as pledges of the duke's fidelity during the continuance of the war ; and he was reinstated in his privileges as a prince of the empire. Not long after, Charles, as a proof of the sincerity of his reconciliation, gave him in marriage one of the daughters of his brother Ferdinand.

Having thus chastised the presumption of the duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies from Francis, and annexed to his own dominions in the Low Countries a considerable province which lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced towards Hainault, and laid siege to Landrecy. There, as the first-fruits of his alliance with Henry, he was joined by 6000 English under Sir John Wallop. The garrison, consisting of veteran troops commanded by De la Lande and Dessé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous resistance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve that place ; Charles covered the siege ; both were determined to hazard an engagement ; and all Europe expected to see this contest, which had continued so long, decided at last by a battle between two great armies, led by their respective monarchs in person. But the ground which separated their two camps was such as put the disadvantage manifestly on his side who should venture to attack, and neither of them chose to run that risk. Amidst a variety of movements, in order to draw the

**enemy** into the snare or to avoid it themselves, Francis, with admirable conduct and equal good fortune, threw first a supply of fresh troops, and then a convoy of provisions, into the town; so that the emperor, despairing of success, withdrew into winter-quarters, in order to preserve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the season.

During this campaign Solyman fulfilled his engagements to the French king with great punctuality. He himself marched into Hungary with a numerous army; and as the princes of the empire made no great effort to save a country which Charles, by employing his own force against Francis, seemed willing to sacrifice, there was no appearance of any body of troops to oppose his progress. He besieged, one after another, Quinque Ecclesiæ, Alba, and Gran, the three most considerable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand had kept possession. The first was taken by storm; the other two surrendered; and the whole kingdom, a small corner excepted, was subjected to the Turkish yoke. About the same time Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of 110 galleys, and coasting along the shore of Calabria, made a descent at Rheggio, which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, he stopped there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his destination, and filled with terror, began to fly with such general precipitation, **that** the city would have been totally deserted if they had not resumed courage upon letters from Paulin the French envoy, assuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any state in alliance with the king his master. From Ostia, Barbarossa sailed to Marseilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land forces on board under the count d'Enguien, a gallant young prince of the house of Bourbon, they directed their course towards Nice, the sole retreat of the unfortunate duke of Savoy. There, to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the lilies of France and

crescent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction against a fortress on which the cross of Savoy was displayed. The town, however, was bravely defended against their combined force by Montfort, a Savoyard gentleman, who stood a general assault, and repulsed the enemy with great loss, before he retired into the castle. That fort, situated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impression, and which could not be undermined, he held out so long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the marquis del Guasto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this the French and Turks raised the siege, and Francis had not even the consolation of success, to render the infamy which he drew on himself by calling in such an auxiliary more pardonable.

No sooner did the season demand the suspension of hostilities, than, without paying attention to the pope's repeated endeavours or paternal exhortations to re-establish peace, the contending parties began to provide for the operations of the next year with new vigour, and an activity increasing with their hatred. Charles turned his chief attention towards gaining the princes of the empire, and endeavoured to rouse the formidable but unwieldy strength of the Germanic body against Francis. In order to understand the propriety of the steps which he took for that purpose, it is necessary to review the chief transactions in that country since the diet of Ratisbon in the year 1541.

Much about the time that assembly broke up, Maurice succeeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to discover the great talents which qualified him for acting such a distinguished part in the affairs of Germany. Though zealously attached to the Protestant opinions, both from education and principle, he refused to accede to the league



of Smalkalde, courted the emperor's favour, and openly took the field in his service. He began also to discover some degree of jealousy of his cousin the elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the sequel so fatal to the elector, had almost occasioned an open rupture between them; and soon after Maurice's accession to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a dispute about the right of jurisdiction over a paltry town situated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to action by the mediation of the landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther.

Amidst these transactions, the pope proposed and summoned a general council at Trent, but was obliged to prorogue it. Unhappily for the authority of the papal see, at the very time that the German Protestants took every occasion of pouring contempt upon it, the emperor and king of the Romans found it necessary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the same diet of Spires in which they had protested in the most disrespectful terms against assembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand, who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that protestation to be inserted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the emperor's concessions at Ratisbon, adding to them whatever they demanded for their farther security. Among other particulars he granted a suspension of a decree of the imperial chamber against the city of Goslar (one of those which had entered into the league of Smalkalde), on account of its having seized the ecclesiastical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry, duke of Brunswick, to desist from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no less obstinate than rash in all his undertakings, continuing to disquiet the people

ary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided assembly to such a successful period, negotiated a separate peace with the king of Denmark, who, though he had hitherto performed nothing considerable in consequence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a troublesome diversion in favour of that monarch. At the same time he did not neglect proper applications to the king of England, in order to rouse him to more vigorous efforts against their common enemy. Little indeed was wanting to accomplish this; for such events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the most violent pitch of resentment against Francis. The treaty of marriage between his son and their young queen had been broken off through the interference of the partisans of France, and Henry, by humbling Francis, hoped to bring the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had relinquished. The emperor proposed, and Henry agreed, to invade France each with an army of 25,000 men, and, without losing time in besieging the frontier towns, to advance directly towards the interior provinces, and to join their forces near Paris.

Francis stood alone in opposition to all the enemies whom Charles was mustering against him. Solyman had been the only ally who did not desert him; but the assistance which he had received from him rendered him so odious to all Christendom, that he resolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendship than to become on that account the object of general detestation. For this reason he dismissed Barbarossa as soon as winter was over, who, after ravaging the coast of Naples and Tuscany, returned to Constantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of so many powers combined against him, he endeavoured to supply that defect by despatch, which was more in his power, and to get the start of them in taking the field. Early in the spring, the count d'Enguien

invested Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis del Guasto, the imperial general, having surprised the former year, considered as of so much importance, that he had fortified it at great expense. The count pushed the siege with such vigour, that Guasto, fond of his own conquest, and seeing no other way of saving it from falling into the hands of the French, resolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. He began his march from Milan for this purpose, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intention, it was soon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterprising young man, wished passionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops desired it with no less ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the king not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the present situation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former disasters, restrained him from venturing upon it. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan when it was just ready to yield, and eager to distinguish his command by some memorable action, he despatched Monluc to court, in order to lay before the king the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The king referred the matter to his privy council; all the ministers declared, one after another, against fighting, and supported their sentiments by reasons extremely plausible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be present, discovered such visible and extravagant symptoms of impatience to speak, as well as such dissatisfaction with what he heard, that Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to sentiments which seemed to be as just as they were general. Upon this Monluc, a plain but spirited soldier, and of known courage, represented the good condition of the troops, their eagerness to meet the enemy in the field, their confidence in their officers, together with the everlasting infamy which

the declining of a battle would bring on the French arms; and he urged his arguments with such lively impetuosity, and such a flow of military eloquence, as gained over to his opinion not only the king, naturally fond of daring actions, but several of the council. Francis, catching the same enthusiasm which had animated his troops, suddenly started up, and having lifted his hands to heaven and implored the divine protection, he then addressed himself to Monluc—‘Go,’ says he, ‘return to Piedmont, and fight in the name of God.’

No sooner was it known that the king had given Enguien leave to fight the imperialists, than such was the martial ardour of the gallant and high-spirited gentlemen of that age, that the court was quite deserted, every person desirous of reputation or capable of service hurrying to Piedmont, in order to share as volunteers in the danger and glory of the action. Encouraged by the arrival of so many brave officers, Enguien immediately prepared for battle, nor did Guasto decline the combat. The number of cavalry was almost equal, but the imperial infantry exceeded the French by at least 10,000 men. They met near Cerisoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The shock was such as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obstinate. The French cavalry, rushing forward to the charge with their usual vivacity, bore down every thing that opposed them; but, on the other hand, the steady and disciplined valour of the Spanish infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in suspense, ready to declare for whichever general could make the best use of that critical moment. Guasto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into disorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French, whose vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoso, lost his presence of mind, and forgot to order large



body of reserve to advance ; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct, supported, at the head of his *gens d'armes*, such of his battalions as began to yield ; and at the same time he ordered the Swiss in his service, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards. This motion proved decisive. All that followed was confusion and slaughter. The marquis del Guasto, wounded in the thigh, escaped only by the swiftness of his horse. The victory of the French was complete, 10,000 of the imperialists being slain, and a considerable number, with all their tents, baggage, and artillery, taken. On the part of the conquerors, their joy was without allay, a few only being killed, and among these no officer of distinction.

This splendid action, beside the reputation with which it was attended, delivered France from an imminent danger, as it ruined the army with which Guasto had intended to invade the country between the Rhone and Saone, where there were neither fortified towns nor regular forces to oppose his progress. But it was not in Francis's power to pursue the victory with such vigour as to reap all the advantages which it might have yielded : for though the Milanese remained now almost defenceless ; though the inhabitants, who had long murmured under the rigour of the imperial government, were ready to throw off the yoke ; though Enguien, flushed with success, urged the king to seize this happy opportunity of recovering a country, the acquisition of which had been long his favourite object ; yet as the emperor and king of England were preparing to break in upon the opposite frontier of France with numerous armies, it became necessary to sacrifice all thoughts of conquest to the public safety, and to recall 12,000 of Enguien's best troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's subsequent operations were of consequence so languid and inconsiderable, that the reduction of Carignan

and some other towns in Piedmont was all that he gained by his great victory at Cerisoles.

The emperor, as usual, was late in taking the field; but he appeared towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led against France. It amounted almost to 50,000 men, and part of it having reduced Luxembourg and some other towns in the Netherlands before he himself joined it, he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of Champagne. Ligny and Commercy, which he first attacked, surrendered after a short resistance. He then invested St. Disier, which, though it commanded an important pass on the Marne, was destitute of every thing necessary for sustaining a siege. But the count de Sancerre and M. De la Lande, who had acquired such reputation by the defence of Landrecy, generously threw themselves into the town, and undertook to hold it out to the last extremity. The emperor soon found how capable they were of making good their promise, and that he could not expect to take the town without besieging it in form. This accordingly he undertook; and as it was his nature never to abandon any enterprise in which he had once engaged, he persisted in it with an inconsiderate obstinacy.

The king of England's preparations for the campaign were complete long before the emperor's; but as he did not choose, on the one hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops should remain inactive, he took that opportunity of chastising the Scots, by sending his fleet, together with a considerable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commission with vigour, plundered and burned Edinburgh and Leith, laid waste the adjacent country, and re-embarked his men with such despatch, that they joined their sovereign soon after his landing in France.

When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the emperor engaged in the siege of St. Disier; an ambassador, however, whom he sent to congratulate the English monarch on his safe arrival on the continent, solicited him to march, in terms of the treaty, directly to Paris. But Charles had set his ally such an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactness, that Henry, observing him employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, saw no reason why he should not attempt the reduction of some places that lay conveniently for himself. Without paying any regard to the emperor's remonstrances, he immediately invested Boulogne, and commanded the duke of Norfolk to press the siege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with some English troops. While Charles and Henry shewed such attention each to his own interest, they both neglected the common cause. Instead of the union and confidence requisite towards conducting the great plan that they had formed, they early discovered a mutual jealousy of each other, which by degrees begot distrust, and ended in open hatred.

By this time Francis had with unwearied industry drawn together an army capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head against the enemy. But the dauphin, who still acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loss of which would have endangered the kingdom, satisfied himself with harassing the emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waste the country round him. Though extremely distressed by these operations, Charles still pressed the siege of St. Disier, which Sancerre defended with astonishing fortitude and conduct. He stood repeated assaults, repulsing the enemy in them all; and undismayed even by the death of his brave associate De la Lande, who was killed by a cannon ball, he continued to shew the same bold countenance

and obstinate resolution. At the end of five weeks he was still in a condition to hold out some time longer, when an artifice of Granvelle's induced him to surrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cipher which the duke of Guise used in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name, authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the king, though highly satisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raise no suspicion, and the governor fell into the snare. Even then he obtained such honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others a cessation of hostilities for eight days, at the expiration of which he bound himself to open the gates, if Francis during that time did not attack the imperial army and throw fresh troops into the town. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the emperor so long before an inconsiderable place, afforded his sovereign full time to assemble all his forces, and, what rarely falls to the lot of an officer in such an inferior command, acquired the glory of having saved his country.

As soon as St. Disier surrendered, the emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne. Great arrears were now due to his soldiers, who were upon the point of mutinying for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to satisfy them. But at last, by a fortunate motion on his part, or through some neglect or treachery on that of the French, he surprised first Esperney and then Chateau Thierry, in both which were considerable magazines. No sooner was it known that these towns, the latter of which is not two days' march from Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than that great capital, defenceless, and susceptible of any violent alarm in proportion to its greatness, was filled with consternation. The inhabitants, as if the emperor had been already at their gates, fled in the wildest confusion and despair, many sending their wives and children down the



Seine to Rouen, others to Orleans and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himself, more afflicted with this than with any other event during his reign, and sensible as well of the triumph that his rival would enjoy in insulting his capital as of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed, could not refrain from crying out in the first emotion of his surprise and sorrow, 'How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadst granted me freely!' But recovering in a moment from this sudden sally of peevishness and impatience, he devoutly added, 'Thy will, however, be done;' and proceeded to issue the necessary orders for opposing the enemy with his usual activity and presence of mind. The dauphin detached 8,000 men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a strong garrison into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Ferté, between the imperialists and the capital.

Upon this the emperor turned suddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soissons. Having about this time learnt that Henry refused to abandon the sieges of Boulogne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get possession, he thought himself absolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to consult his own interest in what manner soever he pleased. He consented, therefore, to renew the conference which had been commenced previous to the surprise of Esperney. To conclude a peace between two princes, one of whom greatly desired and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negotiation. It was signed at Crespy, a small town near Meaux, on the 18th of Sept. 1544. The chief articles of it were: That all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice shall be restored; that the emperor shall give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter or the second daughter of his brother

Ferdinand ; that if he choose to bestow on him his own daughter, he shall settle on her all the provinces of the Low Countries, to be erected into an independent state, which shall descend to the male issue of the marriage ; that if he determined to give him his niece, he shall with her grant him the investiture of Milan and its dependencies ; that he shall within four months declare which of these two princesses he had pitched upon, and fulfil the respective conditions upon the consummation of the marriage, which shall take place within a year from the date of the treaty ; that as soon as the duke of Orleans is put in possession either of the Low Countries or of Milan, Francis shall restore to the duke of Savoy all that he now possesses of his territories except Pignerol and Montmilian : that Francis shall renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples or to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles shall give up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy and country of Charolois : that Francis shall give no aid to the exiled king of Navarre : that both monarchs shall join in making war upon the Turk, towards which the king shall furnish, when required by the emperor and empire, 600 men-at-arms and 10,000 foot.

Henry, possessed at all times with a high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the most sensible manner, the neglect with which the emperor had treated him in concluding a separate peace. But the situation of his affairs was such as somewhat alleviated the mortification which this occasioned. For though he was obliged to recall the duke of Norfolk from the siege of Montreuil, because the Flemish troops received orders to retire, Boulogne had surrendered before the negotiations at Crespy were brought to an issue. While elated with vanity on account of this conquest, and inflamed with indignation against the emperor, the ambassadors whom Francis sent to make overtures of peace found him

too arrogant to grant what was moderate or equitable; and Henry departing for England, hostilities continued between the two nations.

The treaty of peace was loudly complained of by the dauphin: but as he durst not venture to offend the king by refusing to ratify it, he secretly protested, in the presence of some of his adherents, against the whole transaction; and declared whatever he should be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itself and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thoulouse, probably by the instigation of his partisans, did the same. But Francis ratified the treaty with great joy.

A bull was issued by the pope immediately after the peace of Crespy, summoning the council to assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhorting all Christian princes to embrace the opportunity that the present happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of suppressing those heresies which threatened to subvert whatever was sacred or venerable among Christians. After such a slight expression of dislike as was necessary in order to cover his designs, Charles determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconsiderable instrument towards accomplishing his projects, and therefore not only appointed ambassadors to appear there in his name, but ordered the ecclesiastics in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed.

The imperial diet, after several prorogations, was opened at Worms. Ferdinand opened it with observing, that there were two points which chiefly required consideration, the prosecution of the war against the Turks, and the state of religion; that the former was the most urgent, as Solymán, after conquering the greatest part of Hungary, was now ready to fall upon the Austrian provinces; whilst the controversies about religion were so intricate, and of such difficult discussion, as to give no hope of its being possible to bring them at present to any final issue. The Protestants, however, insisted that

the questions with regard to religion, as first in dignity and importance, ought to come first under deliberation. But if the danger from the Turkish arms was indeed so imminent as not to admit of such a delay as would be occasioned by an immediate examination of the controverted points in religion, they required that a diet should be instantly appointed, to which the final settlement of their religious disputes should be referred. Both parties were inflexible; and after much time spent in fruitless endeavours to convince each other, they came to no agreement. Nor did the presence of the emperor, who, upon his recovery from a violent attack of the gout, arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Protestants more compliant. While with such union as well as firmness they rejected all intercourse with the council, and refused their assent to the imperial demands in respect to the Turkish war, Maurice of Saxony alone shewed an inclination to gratify the emperor with regard to both. His example, however, had little influence upon such as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure present aid from the Protestants against the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealousies on account of their religion. But as his schemes were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations so far advanced that he could force the compliance of the Protestants or punish their obstinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions. That he might augment their security, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratisbon early next year, in order to adjust what was now left undetermined; and previous to it he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party should meet, in order to confer upon the points in dispute. But how far soever this appearance of a desire to maintain the present tranquillity might have imposed upon the Protestants, the emperor was incapable of such uniform and thorough dissimulation as to hide altogether from their view the dan-



gerous designs which he was meditating against them. Herman, count de Wied, archbishop and elector of Cologne, a prelate conspicuous for his virtue and primitive simplicity of manners, though not more distinguished for learning than the other descendants of noble families, who in that age possessed most of the great benefices in Germany, having become a proselyte to the doctrines of the reformers, had begun in the year 1543, with the assistance of Melancthon and Bucer, to abolish the ancient superstition in his diocese, and to introduce in its place the rites established among the Protestants. The canons of his cathedral opposed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprise of their archbishop. But perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, they solemnly protested against his proceedings, and appealed for redress to the pope and emperor, the former as his ecclesiastical, the latter as his civil superior. This appeal being laid before the emperor during his residence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour against all who revolted from the established church; prohibited the archbishop to make any innovation in his diocese; and summoned him to appear at Brussels within thirty days, to answer the accusations which should be preferred against him.

To this clear evidence of his hostile intentions against the Protestant party, Charles added other proofs still more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low Countries he persecuted all who were suspected of Lutheranism with unrelenting rigour. As soon as he arrived at Worms, he silenced the Protestant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh against the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that pestilent heresy. He had despatched an embassy to Constantinople with over-

tures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehensions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of these steps, or their dangerous tendency, escape the jealous observation of the Protestants, or fail to alarm their fears and to excite their solicitude for the safety of their sect.

Meanwhile Charles's good fortune, which predominated on all occasions over that of his rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty from which, with all his sagacity and address, he would have found it no easy matter to have disentangled himself. Just about the time when the duke of Orleans should have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the possession of the Milanese, he died of a malignant fever. By this event the emperor was freed from the necessity of giving up a valuable province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and solemn engagement, which must have occasioned an immediate rupture with France. He refused, moreover, to listen to a proposal that came from Francis, of new-modelling the treaty of Crespy, so as to make him some reparation for the advantages which he had lost by the demise of his son. In consequence of this event the unfortunate duke of Savoy lost all hope of obtaining the restitution of his territories; and the rights or claims relinquished by the treaty of Crespy returned in full force to the crown of France, to serve as pretexts for future wars.

Upon the first intelligence of the duke of Orlean's death, the confederates of Smalkalde flattered themselves that the essential alterations which appeared to be unavoidable consequences of it could hardly fail of producing a rupture which would prove the means of their safety. But they were not more disappointed with regard to this, than in their expectations from an event which seemed to be the certain prelude of a quarrel between the emperor and the pope. When Paul, whose passion for aggrandizing

his family increased as he advanced in years, and as he saw the dignity and power which they derived immediately from him becoming more precarious, found that he could not bring Charles to approve of his ambitious schemes, he ventured to grant his son Peter Lewis the investiture of Parma and Placentia, though at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the emperor. Upon pretext that these cities were part of the Milanese state, Charles peremptorily refused to confirm the deed of investiture. But both the emperor and pope being intent upon one common object in Germany, they sacrificed their particular passions to that public cause, and suppressed the emotions of jealousy or resentment which were rising on this occasion, that they might jointly pursue what each deemed to be of greater importance.

About this time the peace of Germany was disturbed by a violent but short irruption of Henry, duke of Brunswick. This prince, though still stripped of his dominions, which the emperor held in sequestration until his differences with the confederates of Smalkalde should be adjusted, possessed, however, so much credit in Germany, that he undertook to raise for the French king a considerable body of troops to be employed in the war against England. The money stipulated for this purpose was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, instead of leading them towards France, suddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering possession of them before any army could be assembled to oppose him. The confederates were not more surprised at this unexpected attack than the king of France was astonished at a mean thievish fraud so unbecoming the character of a prince. But the landgrave of Hesse, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a stop to the progress of Henry's undisciplined forces, and being joined by his son-in-law Maurice, and by some troops belonging to the elector of Sax-

ony, he gained such advantages over Henry, who was rash and bold in forming his schemes, but feeble and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to disband his army, and to surrender himself, together with his eldest son, prisoners at discretion. He was kept in close confinement until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprise added new reputation to the arms of the Protestants, the establishment of the Protestant religion in the Palatinate brought a great accession of strength to their party. Frederic, who succeeded his brother Lewis in that electorate, had long been suspected of a secret propensity to the doctrines of the reformers, which, upon his accession to the principality, he openly manifested. But as he expected that something effectual towards a general and legal establishment of religion would be the fruit of so many diets, conferences, and negotiations, he did not at first attempt any public innovation in his dominions. Finding all these issue in nothing, he thought himself called at length to countenance by his authority the system which he approved of, and to gratify the wishes of his subjects, who, by their intercourse with the Protestant states, had almost universally imbibed their opinions. As the warmth and impetuosity which accompanied the spirit of reformation in its first efforts had somewhat abated, this change was made with great order and regularity; the ancient rites were abolished and new forms were introduced, without any acts of violence or symptom of discontent. Though Frederic adopted the religious system of the Protestants, he imitated the example of Maurice, and did not accede to the league of Smalkalde.

A few weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accustomed solemnities at Trent. The pope, by his last bull of convocation, had appointed the first meeting to be held in March. But his views and



those of the emperor were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negotiations. Charles laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The pope insisted either upon translating the council to some city in Italy, or upon suspending altogether its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorizing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The emperor rejected the two former expedients as equally offensive to the Germans of every denomination ; but finding it impossible to elude the latter, he proposed that the council should begin with reforming the disorders in the church before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded most, and which had prompted it to employ so many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of such a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than some of his predecessors with regard to calling a council, was no less jealous than they had been of its jurisdiction, and saw what matter of triumph such a method of proceeding would afford the heretics. He apprehended consequences not only humbling but fatal to the papal see, if the council came to consider an inquest into abuses as their only business, or if inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their own envy and peevishness by prescribing rules to those who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without listening, therefore, to this insidious proposal of the emperor, he instructed his legates to open the council.

The first session was spent in matters of form. In a subsequent one it was agreed that the framing a confession of faith, wherein should be contained all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the first and principal business of the council ; but that, at the same time, due attention should be given to what was necessary towards the reformation of manners and discipline.

As soon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they published a long manifesto, containing a renewal of their protest against its meeting, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction. The pope and emperor, on their part, were so little solicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them.

The Protestants were not unconcerned spectators of the motions of the sovereign pontiff and of Charles. The deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde assembled at Francfort, and by communicating their intelligence and sentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their sense of the impending danger. But their union was not such as their situation required or the preparations of their enemies rendered necessary.

The landgrave about this time, desirous of penetrating to the bottom of the emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his master's schemes, informing him of the several particulars which raised the suspicions of the Protestants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, assured them, that the intelligence which they had received of the emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their suspicions destitute of foundation; that though, in order to guard his frontiers against any insult of the French or English, he had commanded a small body of men to be raised in the Low Countries, he was as solicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany.

But the emperor's actions did not correspond with these professions of his minister. For instead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacific temper to appear in defence of the Catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own system

with a blind obstinacy that rendered all hope of a reconciliation desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took upon him the conduct of a debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastic metaphysician, more studious to perplex his adversaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The Protestants, filled with indignation as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the emperor endeavoured to impose on the disputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that in all his late measures the emperor could have no other view than to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes.

## BOOK VIII.

WHILE appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the Protestant church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eysleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added with equal justice, such purity and even austerity of manners as became one who assumed the character

of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegances of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university and pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praiseworthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well-founded approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them to rashness; his firmness in adhering to them to obstinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adversaries to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries indiscriminately with the same rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII., nor the eminent learning and abilities



of Erasmus, screened them from the same gross abuse with which he treated Tetzels or Eccius.

The emperor, meanwhile, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out, employing every art to amuse the Protestants and to quiet their fears and jealousies. For this purpose he contrived to have an interview with the landgrave of Hesse, the most active of all the confederates, and the most suspicious of his designs. To him he made such warm professions of his concern for the happiness of Germany and of his aversion to all violent measures; he denied in such express terms his having entered into any league or having begun any military preparations which should give any just cause of alarm to the Protestants, as seem to have dispelled all the landgrave's doubts and apprehensions, and sent him away fully satisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually answered the purpose for which it was employed. The landgrave upon his leaving Spire, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were assembled, and gave them such a flattering representation of the emperor's favourable disposition towards them, that they thought there was no necessity of taking any immediate measures against danger which appeared to be distant or imaginary.

Such events, however, soon occurred as staggered the credit which the Protestants had given to the emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though still composed of a small number of Italian and Spanish prelates, without a single deputy from many of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy between the church of Rome and the reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible au-

thority, determined, 'That the books to which the designation of *Apocryphal* hath been given are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolic age, and preserved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the Scriptures made or revised by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, should be read in churches, and appealed to in the schools as authentic and canonical.' Against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghost. The decision of these points, which undermined the main foundation of the Lutheran system, was a plain warning to the Protestants what judgment they might expect when the council should have leisure to take into consideration the particular and subordinate articles of their creed.

This discovery of the council's readiness to condemn the opinions of the Protestants was soon followed by a striking instance of the pope's resolution to punish such as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne against their archbishop having been carried to Rome, he was convicted of heresy, and a papal bull was issued, depriving him of his ecclesiastical dignity, inflicting on him the sentence of excommunication, and absolving his subjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as their civil superior. The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran heresy was the only crime imputed to him, as well as the only reason assigned to justify the extraordinary severity of this decree. The Protestants were of course deeply alarmed at this sentence against the archbishop, considering it as a sure indication of the malevolent intentions, not only of the pope but of the emperor, against the whole party.

Charles saw that now it became necessary to throw aside the mask, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long series of artifice and fallacy he had gained so much time, that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardness. The pope, by his proceedings against the elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the council, had precipitated matters into such a situation as rendered a breach between the emperor and the Protestants almost unavoidable. Charles had therefore no choice left him but either to take part with them in overturning what the see of Rome had determined, or to support the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the pope think it enough to have brought the emperor under a necessity of acting; he pressed him to begin his operations immediately, and to carry them with such vigour as could not fail of securing success.

But besides the certain expectation of assistance from the pope, Charles was now secure from any danger of interruption to his designs by the Turkish arms, Solyman having consented to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, That each should retain possession of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand, as a sacrifice to the pride of the sultan, submitted to pay an annual tribute of 50,000 crowns. But it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themselves that the emperor relied with the greatest confidence.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the diet of the empire met at Ratisbon. Many of the Roman Catholic members appeared there in person, but most of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of being unable to bear the expense occasioned by the late unnecessary frequency of such assemblies, sent only deputies. Their jealousy of the emperor, together with an apprehension that violence might, perhaps, be employed in order to force their approbation of what he should propose in the diet, was the true cause of

their absence. The speech with which the emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body, he mentioned their unhappy dissensions about religion; lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them; complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the best method of restoring union to the churches of Germany. The Roman Catholic members joined immediately in representing that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be supreme in all matters of controversy; that all Christians should submit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they besought him to exert the power with which he was invested by the Almighty, in protecting that assembly, and in compelling the Protestants to acquiesce in its determinations. The Protestants, on the other hand, presented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they proposed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in dispute, that either a free general council should be assembled in Germany, or a national council of the empire should be called, or a select number of divines should be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith. The emperor, receiving this paper with a contemptuous smile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he despatched the cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commissions to several officers for raising men in different parts of the empire; and he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themselves in order to rescue their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from captivity.



All these things could not be transacted without the observation and knowledge of the Protestants. Alarmed with reports of this kind from every quarter, as well as with the preparations for war which they could not but observe, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the emperor, and, in the name of their masters, required to know whether these military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end and against what enemy? To a question put in such a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was necessary to give an explicit answer. Charles owned the orders which he had issued; and professing his purpose not to molest, on account of religion, those who should act as dutiful subjects, declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the imperial dignity; and by punishing some factious members, to preserve the ancient constitution of the empire from being impaired or dissolved by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the emperor did not name the persons whom he charged with such high crimes, and destined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse in view. Their deputies, considering what he had said as a plain declaration of his hostile intentions, immediately retired from Ratisbon.

The cardinal of Trent found it no difficult matter to treat with the pope, and the league was signed a few days after his arrival at Rome. By it the emperor engaged instantly to take the field with a sufficient army, that he might compel all who disowned the council or had apostatized from the religion of their forefathers to return into the bosom of the church, and submit with due obedience to the holy see. He likewise bound himself not to conclude a peace with them during six months without the pope's consent, nor without assigning him his share in any conquests which should be made upon them; and that, even after this period, he should

not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church or to the interest of religion. On his part, the pope stipulated to deposit a large sum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expense of the war; to maintain, at his own charge, during the space of six months, 12,000 foot and 500 horse; to grant the emperor, for one year, half of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him, by a bull, to alienate as much of the lands belonging to religious houses in that country as would amount to the sum of 500,000 crowns; and to employ not only spiritual censures but military force against any prince who should attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty.

Notwithstanding the explicit terms in which the extirpation of heresy was declared to be the object of the war which was to follow upon this treaty, Charles still endeavoured to persuade the Germans that he had no design to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repressing the insolence of such as had encroached upon it. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Protestant church, and of reducing all Germany under its former state of subjection to the papal see, none of the cities or princes who had embraced the new opinions could have remained neutral after such a declaration, far less could they have ventured to assist the emperor in such an enterprise. Whereas, by concealing and even disclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only saved himself from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Protestant states, but he furnished the timid with an excuse for continuing inactive, and the designing or interested with a pretext for joining him without exposing themselves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or taking part openly in suppressing them.

The pope, by a sudden and unforeseen display of

his zeal, had well nigh disconcerted this plan, which the emperor had formed with so much care and art. Proud of having been the author of such a formidable league against the Lutheran heresy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reserved for his pontificate, he published the articles of his treaty with the emperor, in order to demonstrate the pious intention of their confederacy as well as to display his own zeal, which prompted him to make such extraordinary efforts for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not satisfied with this, he soon after issued a bull containing most liberal promises of indulgence to all who should engage in this holy enterprise, together with warm exhortations to such as could not bear a part in it themselves, to increase the fervour of their prayers and the severity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the blessing of Heaven upon those who undertook it. Nor was it zeal alone which pushed the pope to make declarations so inconsistent with the account which the emperor himself gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much scandalized at Charles's dissimulation in such a cause; at his seeming to be ashamed of owning his zeal for the church, and at his endeavours to make that pass for a political contest which he ought to have gloried in as a war that had no other object than the defence of religion. With as much solicitude, therefore, as the emperor laboured to disguise the purpose of the confederacy, did the pope endeavour to publish their real plan, in order that they might come at once to an open rupture with the Protestants, that all hopes of reconciliation might be cut off, and that Charles might be under fewer temptations, and have it less in his power, than at present, to betray the interests of the church by any accommodation beneficial to himself.

The emperor, though not a little offended at the pope's indiscretion or malice in making this discovery, continued boldly to pursue his own plan, and to assert his intentions to be no other than what he

had originally avowed. Several of the Protestant states, whom he had previously gained, thought themselves justified, in some measure, by his declarations, for abandoning their associates, and even for giving assistance to him.

But these artifices did not impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant confederates. They determined to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce those religious truths to the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In order to give the necessary directions for this purpose, their deputies met at Ulm soon after their abrupt departure from Ratisbon. The contingent of troops which each of the confederates was to furnish having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being sensible at last, that, through the narrow prejudices of some of their members, and the imprudent security of others, they had neglected too long to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earnestness, but without success, to the Venetians and Swiss.

The Protestants, not long after, had recourse to the kings of France and England; the approach of danger either overcoming the elector of Saxony's scruples, or obliging him to yield to the importunities of his associates. The situation of the two monarchs flattered them with hopes of success. Though hostilities between them had continued for some time after the peace of Crespy, they became weary at last of a war attended with no glory or advantage to either, and had lately terminated all their differences by a peace concluded at Campre near Andres. Francis having with great difficulty procured his allies the Scots to be included in the treaty, in return for that concession he engaged to pay a great sum, which Henry demanded as due to him on several



accounts, and he left Boulogne in the hands of the English, as a pledge for his faithful performance of that article. But though the re-establishment of peace seemed to leave the two monarchs at liberty to turn their attention towards Germany, so unfortunate were the Protestants that they derived no immediate advantage from this circumstance. Henry appeared unwilling to enter into any alliance with them but on such conditions as would render him not only the head but the supreme director of their league; a pre-eminence which, as the bonds of union or interest between them were but feeble, and as he differed from them so widely in his religious sentiments, they had no inclination to admit. Francis, more powerfully inclined by political considerations to afford them assistance, found his kingdom so much exhausted by a long war, and was so much afraid of irritating the pope by entering into close union with excommunicated heretics, that he durst not undertake the protection of the Smalkaldic league.

But notwithstanding their ill success in their negotiations with foreign courts, the confederates found no difficulty at home in bringing a sufficient force into the field. They were enabled to assemble in a few weeks an army composed of 70,000 foot, and 15,000 horse, provided with a train of 120 cannon, 800 ammunition waggons, 8,000 beasts of burden, and 6,000 pioneers. This army, one of the most numerous, and undoubtedly the best appointed, of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, did not require the united effort of the whole Protestant body to raise it. The elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Wurtemberg, the princes of Anhalt, and the imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament; the electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the count Palatine, overawed by the emperor's threats or deceived by his professions, remained neuter. John, marquis of Brandenburg Ba-

reith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, though both early converts to Lutheranism, entered openly into the emperor's service, under pretext of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion; and Maurice of Saxony soon followed their example.

The number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had assembled them, astonished the emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants being mostly Lutherans would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only 3,000 Spanish foot who had served in Hungary, and about 5,000 Germans who had joined him from different parts of the empire, he must have been overwhelmed by the approach of such a formidable army, which he could not fight, nor could he even hope to retreat from it in safety. The pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete. His situation, however, called for more immediate succour, nor did it seem practicable for him to wait for such distant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was so precarious.

But it happened fortunately for Charles that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view. They could not think of throwing off that allegiance which they owed to the head of the empire, or of turning their arms against him, without one solemn appeal more to his candour, and to the impartial judgment of their fellow-subjects. For this purpose they addressed a letter to the emperor, and a manifesto to all the inhabitants of Germany, both of the same tenor.

Charles, though in such a perilous situation as might have inspired him with moderate sentiments,

appeared as inflexible and haughty as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous state. His only reply to the address and manifesto of the Protestants was to publish the ban of the empire against the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, and against all who should dare to assist them. By this sentence, the ultimate and most rigorous one which the German jurisprudence has provided for the punishment of traitors or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanic body; their goods were confiscated; their subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles and free cities who framed or perfected the constitution of the German government had not been so negligent of their own safety and privileges as to trust the emperor with this formidable jurisdiction. The authority of a diet of the empire ought to have been interposed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that if his arms were crowned with success there would remain none who would have either power or courage to call in question what he had done.

The confederates now perceiving all hopes of accommodation to be at an end, had only to choose whether they would submit without reserve to the emperor's will or proceed to open hostilities. They were not destitute either of public spirit or of resolution to make the proper choice. A few days after the ban of the empire was published, they, according to the custom of that age, sent a herald to the imperial camp, with a solemn declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage, or duty, which he might claim, or which they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had

begun to act. The command of a considerable body of men, raised by the city of Augsburg, having been given to Sebastian Schertel, a soldier of fortune, who by the booty that he got when the imperialists plundered Rome, together with the merit of long service, had acquired wealth and authority which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles, that gallant veteran resolved, before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt something suitable to his former fame and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the pope's forces were hastening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany by the narrow passes through the mountains which run across that country, he advanced thither with the utmost rapidity, and seized Ehrenberg and Cuffstein, two strong castles which commanded the principal defiles. Without stopping a moment he continued his march towards Inspruck, by getting possession of which he would have obliged the Italians to stop short, and with a small body of men could have resisted all the efforts of the greatest armies. Castlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the emperor, all whose designs must have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raised a few troops with the utmost despatch, and threw himself into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprise, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the elector and landgrave, obliged him to desist. By his retreat the passes were left open, and the Italians entered Germany without any opposition but from the garrisons which Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cuffstein; and these having no hopes of being relieved, surrendered after a short resistance.

Nor was the recalling of Schertel the only error of which the confederates were guilty. As the supreme command of their army was committed, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to the elector of



Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, with equal power, all the inconveniences arising from a divided and co-ordinate authority, which is always of fatal consequence in the operations of war, were immediately felt. The elector, though intrepid in his own person to excess, and most ardently zealous in the cause, was slow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irresolute in his determinations, and constantly preferred measures which were cautious and safe to such as were bold or decisive. The landgrave, of a more active and enterprising nature, formed all his resolutions with promptitude, wished to execute them with spirit, and uniformly preferred such measures as tended to bring the contest to a speedy issue. Thus their maxims with regard to the conduct of the war differed as widely as those by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their sentiments gave rise, imperceptibly, to jealousy and the spirit of contention. These multiplied the dissensions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural tempers, and rendered them more violent. The other members of the league considering themselves as independent, and subject to the elector and landgrave only in consequence of the articles of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders who proceeded with so little concord; and the numerous army of the Protestants, like a vast machine whose parts are ill compacted, and which is destitute of any power sufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no consistency, vigour, or effect.

The emperor, who was afraid that by remaining at Ratisbon he might render it impossible for the pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landshut on the Iser, the confederates lost some days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the duke of Bavaria, a neutral prince. When at last they surmounted that scruple, and began to move towards his camp, they suddenly abandoned the design, and hastened to

attack Ratisbon, in which town Charles could leave only a small garrison. By this time the papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had stipulated to furnish, had reached Landshut, and were soon followed by 6000 Spaniards of the veteran band stationed in Naples. The imperial army amounted now to 36,000 men, and was still more formidable by the discipline and valour of the troops than by their number. Avila, commendador of Alcantara, who had been present in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had served in the armies which gained the memorable victory at Pavia, which conquered Tunis and invaded France, gives this the preference to any military force he had ever seen assembled. Octavio Farnese, the pope's grandson, assisted by the ablest officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother, the cardinal Farnese, accompanied him as papal legate: and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprise, he proposed to march at the head of the army with a cross carried before him, and to publish indulgences wherever he came to all who should give them any assistance, as had anciently been the practice in the crusades against the infidels. But this the emperor strictly prohibited, as inconsistent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his astonishment, that the exercise of the Protestant religion, the extirpation of which he considered as the sole object of the war, was publicly permitted in the imperial camp, soon returned in disgust to Italy.

The arrival of these troops enabled the emperor to send such a reinforcement to the garrison at Ratisbon, that the confederates, relinquishing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldstadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. They exclaimed loudly against the emperor's notorious violation of the laws and consti-

tution of the empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waste Germany and to oppress its liberties. As in that age the dominion of the Roman see was so odious to the Protestants, that the name of the pope alone was sufficient to inspire them with horror at any enterprise which he countenanced, and to raise in their minds the blackest suspicions, it came to be universally believed among them, that Paul had dispersed his emissaries all over Germany, to set on fire their towns and magazines, and to poison the wells and fountains of water. Even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, published a declaration, in which they accused the pope of having employed such anti-christian and diabolical arts against them. These sentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in some measure, by the behaviour of the papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous towards heretics anathematized by the church, were guilty of great excesses in the territories of the Lutheran states, and aggravated the calamities of war by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigoted zeal.

On the arrival of the confederates at Ingoldstadt, they found the emperor in a camp not remarkable for strength, and surrounded only by a slight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of such extent as afforded sufficient space for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every consideration should have determined them to have seized this opportunity of attacking the emperor; and their great superiority in numbers, the eagerness of their troops, together with the stability of the German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the most probable expectation of victory. The landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring, that if the sole command were vested in him, he would terminate the war on that occasion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the elector, reflecting on the valour and discipline of the enemy's forces, animated

by the presence of the emperor and conducted by the best officers of the age, would not venture upon an action which he thought to be so doubtful as the attacking such a body of veterans on ground which they themselves had chosen, and while covered with fortifications which, though imperfect, would afford them no small advantage in the combat. Notwithstanding his hesitation and remonstrances, it was agreed to advance towards the enemy's camp in battle-array, in order to make a trial whether by that insult, and by a furious cannonade which they began, they could draw the imperialists out of their works. The confederates, after firing several hours on the imperialists, with more noise and terror than execution, seeing no prospect of alluring them to fight on equal terms, retired to their own camp. The emperor employed the night with such diligence in strengthening his works, that the confederates, returning to the cannonade next day, found that though they had now been willing to venture upon such a bold experiment, the opportunity of making an attack with advantage was lost.

The confederates now turned their whole attention towards preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforcement of 10,000 foot and 4000 horse, which the count de Buren was bringing to the emperor from the Low Countries; but he conducted this body to the imperial camp without any loss. Upon the arrival of the Flemings the emperor made himself master of Neuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube; of Nordlingen, and several other towns situated on the most considerable streams which fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in several sharp encounters, of which the success was various, nor without being exposed, oftener than once, to the danger of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was spent; neither party gained any remarkable superiority over the other, and



nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The emperor had often foretold with confidence, that discord and the want of money would compel the confederates to disperse that unwieldy body, which they had neither abilities to guide nor funds to support. Though he waited with impatience for the accomplishment of his prediction, there was no prospect of that event being at hand. But he himself found it difficult to keep his army in the field; some of his ablest generals, and even the duke of Alva himself, persevering and obstinate as he usually was in the prosecution of every measure, advising him to disperse his troops into winter-quarters. But the emperor paid no regard to their opinion.

Maurice of Saxony, thoroughly acquainted with the state of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, did not hesitate long in determining on which side the greatest advantages were to be expected. Having taken his final resolution of joining the emperor, he had repaired to Ratisbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his ministers, he, with the most mysterious secrecy, concluded a treaty, in which he engaged to concur in assisting the emperor as a faithful subject, and Charles in return stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

His first care, however, was to keep the engagements into which he had entered with the emperor closely concealed: and so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connexions with them, and his remarkable assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seemed to have entertained no suspicion of his designs. Even the elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his associates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an insidious appearance of friendship, readily undertook. But

scarcely had the elector taken the field when Maurice began to consult privately with the king of the Romans how to invade those very territories with the defence of which he was intrusted. Soon after, the emperor sent him a copy of the imperial ban denounced against the elector and landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly interested in preventing strangers from getting his dominions into their possession, Charles required him, not only for his own sake, but upon the allegiance and duty which he owed to the head of the empire, instantly to seize and detain in his hands the forfeited estates of the elector; warning him at the same time, that if he neglected to obey these commands, he should be held as accessory to the crimes of his kinsman, and be liable to the same punishment.

Maurice having twice called together the states of his country, they proposed to write to the elector, exhorting him, as the best means not only of appeasing the emperor, but of preventing his dominions from being seized by foreign or hostile powers, to give his consent that Maurice should take possession of them quietly and without opposition. Maurice himself seconded their arguments in a letter to the landgrave, his father-in-law; but such an extravagant proposition was rejected with the scorn and indignation which it deserved. But Maurice had proceeded too far to be diverted from pursuing his plan by reproaches or arguments. Nothing now remained but to execute with vigour what he had hitherto carried on by artifice and dissimulation. Nor was his boldness in action inferior to his subtilty in contrivance. Having assembled about 12,000 men, he suddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand, with an army composed of Bohemians and Hungarians, overran the other. Maurice in two sharp encounters defeated the troops which the elector had left to guard his country; and improving these advantages to the utmost, made

himself master of all the electorate except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, which being places of considerable strength, and defended by sufficient garrisons, refused to open their gates. The news of these rapid conquests soon reached the imperial and confederate camps. In the former, satisfaction with an event which it was foreseen would be productive of the most important consequences, was expressed by every possible demonstration of joy. The latter was filled with astonishment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned with execration, as an apostate from religion, a betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the most sacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could suggest in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, satires, and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors, were all employed against him. While he, confiding in the arts which he had so long practised, as if his actions could have admitted of any serious justification, published a manifesto, containing the same frivolous reasons for his conduct which he had formerly alleged in the meeting of his states and in his letter to the landgrave.

The elector, upon the first intelligence of Maurice's motions, proposed to return home with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But the deputies of the league, assembled at Ulm, prevailed on him at that time to remain with the army, and to prefer the success of the common cause before the security of his own dominions. At length the sufferings and complaints of his subjects increased so much, that he discovered the utmost impatience to set out, in order to rescue them from the oppression of Maurice and from the cruelty of the Hungarians, who having been accustomed to that licentious and merciless species of war which was thought lawful against the Turks, committed, wherever they came, the wildest acts of rapine and violence. This desire of the

elector was so natural and so warmly urged, that the deputies at Ulm, though fully sensible of the unhappy consequences of dividing their army, durst not refuse their consent, how unwilling soever to grant it. In this perplexity they repaired to the camp of the confederates at Giengen on the Brenz, in order to consult their constituents, and at length concluded that nothing could save them, but either the bringing the contest to the immediate decision of a battle, by attacking the imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the despondency and dejection which now oppressed the party, that of these two they chose what was most feeble and unmanly, empowering a minister of the elector of Brandenburg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the emperor.

Charles, however, would not hear of a negotiation but upon condition that the elector of Saxony should previously give up himself and his dominions absolutely to his disposal. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been prescribed even in the worst situation of their affairs, it is no wonder that this proposition should be rejected by a party which was rather humbled and disconcerted than subdued. But forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the imperialists to think of quitting the field, they inconsiderately abandoned this advantage, which in spite of the diversion in Saxony would still have kept the emperor in awe, and yielding to the elector's entreaties, consented to his proposal of dividing the army. Nine thousand men were left in the duchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province as well as the free cities of Upper Germany; a considerable body marched with the elector towards Saxony; but the greater part returned with their respective leaders into their own countries, and were dispersed there. The moment



that the troops separated, the confederacy ceased to be the object of terror; and almost all the members of it submitted to the emperor.

During these transactions the elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country unmolested. As Maurice could assemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he in a short time not only recovered possession of his own territories, but overran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him except Dresden and Leipsic, which being towns of some strength, could not be suddenly reduced. Maurice, obliged to quit the field and to shut himself up in his capital, despatched courier after courier to the emperor, representing his dangerous situation, and soliciting him with the most earnest importunity to march immediately to his relief. But Charles, busy at that time in prescribing terms to such members of the league as were daily returning to their allegiance, thought it sufficient to detach Albert, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, with 3000 men to his assistance. Albert, though an enterprising and active officer, was unexpectedly surprised by the elector, who killed many of his troops, dispersed the remainder, and took him prisoner. Maurice continued as much exposed as formerly; and if his enemy had known how to improve the opportunity which presented itself, his ruin must have been immediate and unavoidable. But the elector, no less slow and dilatory when invested with the sole command than he had been formerly when joined in authority with a partner, never gave any proof of military activity but in this enterprise against Albert. Instead of marching directly towards Maurice, whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed, he inconsiderately listened to overtures of accommodation, which his artful antagonist proposed with no other intention than to amuse him and to slacken the vigour of his operations.

Such, indeed, was the posture of the emperor's af-

fairs, that he could not march instantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the separation of the confederate army, he, in order to ease himself of the burden of maintaining a superfluous number of troops, had dismissed the count of Buren with his Flemings, and the pope, without giving the emperor any warning of his intention, ordered Farnese, his grandson, to return to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the same time recalled the licence which he had granted Charles, of appropriating to his own use a large share of the church lands in Spain. He was not destitute of pretences to justify this abrupt desertion of his ally, and as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no less peremptory than unexpected, it was impossible to prevent their retreat. Charles, weakened by the withdrawing of so great a body from his army, which was already much diminished by the number of garrisons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it necessary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in person towards Saxony.

The form of government which had been established in Genoa at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, did not, after a trial of near twenty years, give universal satisfaction to those turbulent and factious republicans. As the entire administration of affairs was now lodged in a certain number of noble families, many envying them that pre-eminence, wished for the restitution of a popular government, to which they had been accustomed; and though all revered the disinterested virtue of Doria, they easily saw that the authority and influence which in his hands were innocent would prove destructive if usurped by any citizen of greater ambition or less virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed such pretensions, and with some prospect of success. Gianettino Doria, whom his grand-uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise

at being his successor in power. His temper, haughty, insolent, and overbearing, to such a degree as would hardly have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether insupportable in the citizen of a free state. The more sagacious among the Genoese already feared and hated him as the enemy of those liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle: while Andrew himself, blinded by that violent and undiscerning affection which persons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, set no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; seeming less solicitous to secure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth than to aggrandize that undeserving kinsman.

John Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, observing this growing disgust, was encouraged by it to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. That young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republic, possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities which win upon the human heart, which command respect or secure attachment. He was graceful and majestic in his person; magnificent even to profusion; of a generosity that anticipated the wishes of his friends, and exceeded the expectations of strangers; of an insinuating address, gentle manners, and a flowing affability. But under the appearance of these virtues, which seemed to form him for enjoying and adorning social life, he concealed all the dispositions which mark men out for taking the lead in the most dangerous and dark conspiracies—an insatiable and restless ambition, a courage unacquainted with fear, and a mind that disdained subordination. Such a temper could ill brook that station of inferiority wherein he was placed in the republic; and as he envied the power which the elder Doria had acquired, he was filled with indignation at the thoughts of its descending, like an hereditary possession, to Giannettino. These various passions preying with violence

on his turbulent and aspiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination to which he could not submit

As the most effectual method of accomplishing this, he thought at first of forming a connexion with Francis, and even proposed it to the French ambassador at Rome ; and after expelling Doria, together with the imperial faction, by his assistance, he offered to put the republic once more under the protection of that monarch, hoping in return for that service to be intrusted with the principal share in the administration of government. But having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidants, from whom he kept nothing secret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of desperate fortune, capable alike of advising and executing the most audacious deeds, remonstrated with earnestness against the folly of exposing himself to the most imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his success ; and exhorted him warmly to aim himself at that pre-eminence in his country to which he was destined by his illustrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raised by the zeal of his friends. This discourse opened such great prospects to Fiesco, and so suitable to his genius, that, abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other persons present, though sensible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not choose to condemn what their patron had so warmly approved. It was instantly resolved in this dark cabal, to assassinate the two Dorias as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. He continued his correspondence with the French ambassador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might secure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he should find it necessary to call them in to his aid. He entered into a close confederacy with Farnese.



duke of Parma, who, being disgusted with the emperor for refusing to grant him the investiture of that duchy, was eager to promote any measure that tended to diminish his influence in Italy, or to ruin a family so implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being sensible that in a maritime state the acquisition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchased four galleys from the pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the design which he had formed, and did not disapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of these galleys to sail on a cruise against the Turks, he not only assembled a good number of his own vassals, but engaged in his service many bold adventurers whom the truce between the emperor and Solyman had deprived of their usual occupation and subsistence.

So many instruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to strike the blow, and the night between the 2d and 3d of January, 1547, was fixed on for the execution of their enterprise. The time was chosen with great propriety; for as the doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to custom, on the 1st of the month, and his successor could not be elected sooner than the 4th, the republic remained during that interval in a sort of anarchy, and Fiesco might with less violence take possession of the vacant dignity.

The morning of that day Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening he paid court to the Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long a-gathering, and was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had

been set open in the morning, and all persons without distinction were allowed to enter; but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his galleys, into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible dispersed themselves through the city, and in the name of their patron invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled; the rest, astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men and apartments filled with the instruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience, and terror. While their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared, and disclosed his intentions, whilst with one voice all applauded, or feigned to applaud, the undertaking.

Fiesco having thus fixed and encouraged his associates, before he gave them his last orders he hastened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, who endeavoured by her tears, her entreaties, and her despair, to divert him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to soothe and to inspire her with hope, broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him, though it could not shake his resolution. 'Farewell!' he cried as he quitted the apartment; 'you shall either never see me more, or you shall behold, to-morrow, every thing in Genoa subject to your power.'

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station; some were appointed to assault and seize the different gates of the city; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength: Fiesco reserved for

himself the attack of the harbour, where Doria's galleys were laid up, as the post of chief importance and of greatest danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens slept in the security of peace when this band of conspirators, numerous, desperate, and well armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprised some of the gates without meeting with any resistance. They got possession of others after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Verrina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darsena, or little harbour, where Doria's fleet lay. All possibility of escape being cut off by this precaution, when Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore, to which they were made fast, they were in no condition to make resistance, as they were not only unrigged and disarmed, but had no crew on board except the slaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult, all the streets resounding with the cry of *Fiesco and Liberty!* At that name so popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partisans of the aristocracy, astonished or affrighted, shut the gates of their houses, and thought of nothing but of securing them from pillage. At last the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion reached the palace of Doria: Giannettino started immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors, rushed out with a few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to pass, was already in possession of the conspirators, who, the moment he appeared, fell upon him with the utmost fury, and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fiesco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the sordid consideration of preventing its being plundered amidst the

confusion, having forbid his followers to advance. Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death as well as of his own danger, and mounting on horseback saved himself by flight. Amidst this general consternation a few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republic. At first some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers and to attack a body of the conspirators ; but being repulsed with loss, all agreed that nothing now remained but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco what were the concessions with which he would be satisfied, or rather to submit to whatever terms he should please to prescribe.

But by this time Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where every thing succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the admiral's galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains and overpower his associates, he ran thither ; but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea, whilst he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of every thing that his ambitious heart could desire. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him knew not his confidants, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place or to finish his plan ; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted



the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, most of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Next morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be seen, few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprise with more noise than bloodshed, and gained all their advantages by surprise rather than by force of arms. Towards evening Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceding night were fresh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinsmen still before his eyes, such was his moderation as well as magnanimity, that the decree issued by the senate against the conspirators did not exceed that just measure of severity which was requisite for the support of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment nor the rancour of revenge.

After taking the necessary precautions for preventing the flame which was now so happily extinguished from breaking out anew, the first care of the senate was to send an ambassador to the emperor, to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his assistance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a strong fort on the hereditary estate of the Fiesci, in which Jerome had shut himself up. Charles was no less alarmed than astonished at an event so strange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fiesco, how bold or adventurous soever, durst have attempted such an enterprise but on foreign suggestion and from the hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the duke of Parma was well

acquainted with the plan of the conspirators, he immediately supposed that the pope could not be ignorant of a measure which his son had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other instances rendered extremely probable, he concluded that the French king must have known and approved of the design; and he began to apprehend that this spark might again kindle the flame of war which had raged so long in Italy. As he had drained his Italian territories of troops on account of the German war, he was altogether unprovided for resisting any hostile attack in that country; and on the first appearance of danger, he must have detached thither the greatest part of his forces for its defence. In this situation of affairs it would have been altogether imprudent in the emperor to have advanced in person against the elector, until he should learn with some degree of certainty whether such a scene were not about to open in Italy as might put it out of his power to keep the field with an army sufficient to oppose him.

## BOOK IX.

THE emperor's dread of the hostile intentions of the pope and French king did not proceed from any imaginary or ill-grounded suspicion. Paul had already given the strongest proofs both of his jealousy and enmity, and Francis was now convinced that if he did not make some extraordinary and timely effort, Charles must acquire such a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the rest of Europe. With this view Francis made liberal offers of his assistance to the elector and landgrave, whom he knew to be the most zealous as well as the most powerful of the confederates. He solicited Solyman to seize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained

of all the troops necessary for its defence, in order to form the army against the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the pope to repair, by a vigorous and seasonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty, in contributing to raise the emperor to such a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the consciousness of his own mistake and his dread of its consequences, abundantly disposed to listen to what he suggested, he availed himself of this favourable disposition which the pontiff began to discover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could save Italy, and even Europe, from oppression and servitude, but their joining with the pope and him in giving the first beginning to a general confederacy in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reason to dread.

As the king of Denmark had particular reasons to be offended with the emperor, Francis imagined that the object of the league which he had projected would be highly acceptable to him; and lest considerations of caution or prudence should restrain him from joining it, he attempted to overcome these by offering him the young queen of Scots in marriage to his son. As the ministers who governed England in the name of Edward VI. had openly declared themselves converts to the opinions of the reformers, as soon as it became safe upon Henry's death to lay aside that disguise which his intolerant bigotry had forced them to assume, Francis flattered himself that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive spectators of the overthrow and destruction of those who professed the same faith with themselves. He hoped that notwithstanding the struggles of faction incident to a minority, and the prospect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewise to take part in the common cause.

While Francis employed such a variety of expe-

dients, and exerted himself with such extraordinary activity, to rouse the different states of Europe against his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himself alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military stores; he contracted with the Swiss cantons for a considerable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted considerable sums to the elector and landgrave; and took all the other steps necessary towards commencing hostilities on the shortest warning and with the greatest vigour.

Operations so complicated, and which required putting so many instruments in motion, did not escape the emperor's observation. But above all, he dreaded the active emulation of Francis himself, whom he considered as the soul and mover of any confederacy that could be formed against him; and as that monarch had afforded protection to Verrina, who sailed directly to Marseilles upon the miscarriage of Fiesco's conspiracy, Charles expected every moment to see the commencement of those hostile operations in Italy of which he conceived the insurrection in Genoa to have been only the prelude.

But while he remained in this state of suspense and solicitude, there was one circumstance which afforded him some prospect of escaping the danger. The French king's health began to decline, and he died at Rambouillet on the last day of March, in the fifty-third year of his age and the thirty-third of his reign. During twenty-eight years of that time an avowed rivalry subsisted between him and the emperor, which involved not only their own dominions but the greater part of Europe in wars, which were prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length, than had been known in any former period.

Francis is one of those monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of Fame than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold. The superiority which Charles acquired by the victory of



Pavia, and which from that period he preserved through the remainder of his reign, was so manifest, that Francis's struggle against his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by most of the other powers not only with the partiality which naturally arises for those who gallantly maintain an unequal contest, but with the favour due to one who was resisting a common enemy, and endeavouring to set bounds to a monarch equally formidable to them all. Francis, notwithstanding the many errors conspicuous in his foreign policy and domestic administration, was nevertheless humane, beneficent, generous. He possessed dignity without pride; affability free from meanness; and courtesy exempt from deceit. All who had access to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, respected and loved him. Captivated with his personal qualities, his subjects forgot his defects as a monarch; and admiring him as the most accomplished and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they hardly murmured at acts of mal-administration which in a prince of less engaging dispositions would have been deemed unpardonable. Science and the arts were just beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only seat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himself in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he conversed with them familiarly, he employed them in business, he raised them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. The appellation of *Father of Letters* bestowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory sacred among historians, and they seem to have regarded it as a sort of impiety to uncover his infirmities or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithstanding his inferior abilities and want of success, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The good qualities which he possessed as a man have entitled him to greater admiration

and praise than have been bestowed upon the extensive genius and fortunate arts of a more capable but less amiable rival.

By his death a considerable change was made in the state of Europe. Charles knew the abilities of Henry II., who had just mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to those of his father, and foresaw that he would be so much occupied for some time in displacing the late king's ministers, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread either from his personal efforts, or from any confederacy which this inexperienced prince could form.

But as it was uncertain how long such an interval of security might continue, Charles determined instantly to improve it: and as soon as he heard of Francis's demise, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had so much diminished his army, that 16,000 men were all he could assemble. With this inconsiderable body he set out on an expedition the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he should possess from that period in Germany: but as this little army consisted chiefly of the veteran Spanish and Italian bands, he did not, in trusting to them, commit much to the decision of chance; and even with so small a force he had reason to entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. The elector had levied an army greatly superior in number; but neither the experience and discipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with those of the emperor. The elector, besides, had already been guilty of an error which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his superiority in number, and was alone sufficient to have occasioned his ruin. Instead of keeping his forces united, he detached one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to

facilitate his junction with the malcontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a considerable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the emperor would make the first impression, vainly imagining that open towns with small garrisons might be rendered tenable against an enemy.

The emperor entered the southern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elster, the troops posted in that town surrendering without resistance; and those in all the other places between that and the Elbe either imitated their example or fled as the imperialists approached. Charles advanced without losing a moment. The elector, who had fixed his head-quarters at Meissen, became more undetermined in proportion as the danger drew near and called for prompt and decisive resolutions. He broke down the bridge and marched along the east bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he left a detachment to oppose the imperialists if they should attempt to pass at that place; and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped in expectation of the event, according to which he proposed to regulate his subsequent motions.

Charles, meanwhile, pushing forward incessantly, arrived the evening of the 23d of April on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Muhlberg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank possessed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undismayed, however, by all these obstacles, he called together his general officers, and, without asking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his passage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expressed their astonishment at such a bold resolution; and even the duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithstanding his impatience to crush his rival the elector, remonstrated earnestly against it. But the

emperor, confiding in his own judgment or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders necessary for executing his design.

Early in the morning a body of Spanish and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an incessant fire upon the enemy. The long heavy muskets used in that age did execution on the opposite bank, and many of the soldiers, hurried on by a martial ardour, in order to get nearer the enemy, rushed into the stream, and advancing breast-high, fired with a more certain aim and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry; and a peasant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by a ford with which he was well acquainted, they also were put in motion. The Saxons posted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obstruct these operations by a brisk fire from a battery which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the imperialists suffered very little; at the same time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they set on fire some boats which had been collected near the village and prepared to retire. The imperialists perceiving this, ten Spanish soldiers instantly stripped themselves, and holding their swords with their teeth, swam across the river, put to flight such of the Saxons as ventured to oppose them, saved from the flames as many boats as were sufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this spirited and successful action, encouraged their companions no less than they intimidated the enemy.

By this time the cavalry, each trooper having a foot-soldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light-horse marching in the front, followed by the men-at-arms, whom the emperor led in person, mounted on a Spanish horse, dressed in a sumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body struggling through a great river, in which, according to the directions of their guide,



they were obliged to make several turns, sometimes treading on a firm bottom, sometimes swimming, presented to their companions, whom they left behind, a spectacle equally magnificent and interesting. Their courage at last surmounted every obstacle, no man betraying any symptom of fear when the emperor shared in the danger no less than the meanest soldier. The moment that they reached the opposite side, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the rest of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had passed along with him, who, flushed with their good fortune, and despising an enemy who had neglected to oppose them when it might have been done with such advantage, made no account of their superior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

During all these operations, the elector would not believe that the emperor had passed the river or could be so near at hand. Being convinced at last of his fatal mistake by the concurring testimony of eye-witnesses, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. They had just begun to march when the light troops of the enemy came in view, and the elector saw an engagement to be unavoidable. As he was no less bold in action than irresolute in council, he made the disposition for battle with the greatest presence of mind, and in the most proper manner: taking advantage of a great forest to cover his wings, so as to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, which were far more numerous than his own. The emperor likewise ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. The shock of battle would not have been long doubtful, if the personal courage which the elector displayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all possibility of hesitation, had not revived in some degree the spirit of his troops. They repulsed

the Hungarian light-horse who began the attack, and received with firmness the men-at-arms who next advanced to the charge. but as these were the flower of the imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the emperor's eye, the Saxons soon began to give way; and the light troops rallying at the same time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A small body of chosen soldiers, among whom the elector had fought in person, still continued to defend themselves, and endeavoured to save their master by retiring into the forest; but being surrounded on every side, the elector, wounded in the face, exhausted with fatigue, and perceiving all resistance to be vain, surrendered himself a prisoner. He was conducted immediately towards the emperor, whom he found just returned from the pursuit, standing on the field of battle in the full exultation of success, and receiving the congratulations of his officers upon this complete victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in such an unfortunate and humbling situation the elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. 'The fortune of war,' said he, 'has made me your prisoner, most gracious emperor, and I hope to be treated—' Here Charles harshly interrupted him: 'And am I then at last acknowledged to be emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve.' At these words he turned from him abruptly with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more ungenerous and insulting. The elector made no reply; but with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him.

This decisive victory cost the imperialists only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed, chiefly in the pursuit, and a greater number taken prisoners. About 400 kept in a body and

escaped to Wittemberg, together with the electoral prince, who had likewise been wounded in the action. After resting two days in the field of battle, partly to refresh his army and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to secure his protection by submitting to his will, the emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate elector was carried along in a sort of triumph, and exposed every where, as a captive, to his own subjects; a spectacle extremely afflicting to them, who both honoured and loved him; though the insult was so far from subduing his firm spirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and composure of his mind.

As Wittemberg, the residence, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family, was one of the strongest cities in Germany, and could not be taken, if properly defended, without great difficulty, the emperor marched thither with the utmost despatch, hoping that, while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants might imitate the example of their countrymen, and submit to his power as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman no less distinguished by her abilities than her virtue, instead of abandoning herself to tears and lamentations upon her husband's misfortune, endeavoured, by her example as well as exhortations, to animate the citizens. She inspired them with such resolution, that when summoned to surrender, they returned a vigorous answer, warning the emperor to behave towards their sovereign with the respect due to his rank, as they were determined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was still a prisoner, precisely in the same manner that he treated the elector. The spirit of the inhabitants, no less than the strength of the city, seemed now to render a siege in form necessary. After such a signal victory it would have

been disgraceful not to have undertaken it, though at the same time the emperor was destitute of every thing requisite for carrying it on. But Maurice removed all difficulties by engaging to furnish provisions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and whatever else should be needed. Trusting to this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches before the town. It quickly appeared that Maurice's eagerness to reduce the capital of those dominions which he expected as his reward for taking arms against his kinsman, and deserting the Protestant cause, had led him to promise what exceeded his power to perform. A battering train was, indeed, carried safely down the Elbe from Dresden to Wittemberg; but as Maurice had not sufficient force to preserve a secure communication between his own territories and the camp of the besiegers, count Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electoral troops, intercepted and destroyed a convoy of provisions and military stores, and dispersed a band of pioneers destined for the service of the imperialists. This put a stop to the progress of the siege, and convinced the emperor, that as he could not rely on Maurice's promises, recourse ought to be had to some more expeditious as well as more certain method of getting possession of the town.

The unfortunate elector was in his hands, and Charles was ungenerous and hard-hearted enough to take advantage of this, in order to make an experiment whether he might not bring about his design by working upon the tenderness of a wife for her husband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view he summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates, letting her know that if she again refused to comply, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. To convince her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, and the court-martial presuming the elector to be manifestly convicted of treason and rebellion, condemned him



to suffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the elector while he was amusing himself in playing at chess with Ernest of Brunswick, his fellow-prisoner. He paused for a moment, though without discovering any symptom either of surprise or terror; and after taking notice of the irregularity, as well as injustice, of the emperor's proceedings—'It is easy,' continued he, 'to comprehend his scheme. I must die because Wittemberg will not surrender; and I shall lay down my life with pleasure, if, by that sacrifice, I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which belongs to them. Would to God that this sentence may not affect my wife and children more than it intimidates me; and that they, for the sake of adding a few days to a life already too long, may not renounce honours and territories which they were born to possess!' He then turned to his antagonist, whom he challenged to continue the game. He played with his usual attention and ingenuity, and having beat Ernest, expressed all the satisfaction which is commonly felt on gaining such victories. After this he withdrew to his own apartment, that he might employ the rest of his time in such religious exercises as were proper in his situation.

It was not with the same indifference or composure that the account of the elector's danger was received in Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes while she imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminish his power or territories, felt all her resolution fail as soon as his life was threatened. Solicitous to save that, she despised every other consideration, and was willing to make any sacrifice in order to appease an incensed conqueror. At the same time the duke of Cleves, the elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives

of his violent proceedings against the elector, interceded warmly with him to spare his life.

While they, from various motives, solicited Charles with the most earnest importunity not to execute the sentence, Sybilla and his children conjured the elector, by letters as well as messengers, to scruple at no concession that would extricate him out of the present danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguish on his account. The emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to produce the effect that he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the elector would shew himself worthy of his favour by submitting to reasonable terms. The elector, on whom the consideration of what he might suffer himself had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not resist the entreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain. The chief of them were, that he should resign the electoral dignity, as well for himself as for his posterity, into the emperor's hands, to be disposed of entirely at his pleasure; that he should instantly put the imperial troops in possession of the cities of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he should set Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ransom; that he should submit to the decrees of the imperial chamber, and acquiesce in whatever reformation the emperor should make in the constitution of that court; that he should renounce all league against the emperor or king of the Romans, and enter into no alliance for the future in which they were not comprehended. In return for these important concessions, the emperor not only promised to spare his life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territories, together with an annual pension of 50,000 florins, payable

out of the revenues of the electorate, and likewise to grant him a sum in ready money to be applied towards the discharge of his debts. Even these articles of grace were clogged with the mortifying condition of his remaining the emperor's prisoner during the rest of his life. To the whole Charles had subjoined, that he should submit to the decrees of the pope and council with regard to the controverted points in religion; but the elector, though he had been persuaded to sacrifice all the objects which men commonly hold to be the dearest and most valuable, was inflexible with regard to this point; and neither threats nor entreaties could prevail to make him renounce what he deemed to be truth, or persuade him to act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

As soon as the Saxon garrison marched out of Wittemberg, the emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deserted the Protestant cause, and having contributed with such success towards the dissolution of the Smalkaldic league, he gave him possession of that city, together with all the other towns in the electorate.

The landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Protestant cause, was neither a feeble nor contemptible enemy. But being seized with the same consternation which had taken possession of his associates, he was intent only on the means of procuring favourable terms from the emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror to whose will there was a necessity of submitting.

Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg acted as mediators between him and the emperor; but the conditions prescribed to the landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the emperor's authority, and submitting to the decrees of the imperial chamber, were the same which

had been imposed on the elector of Saxony. Besides these, he was required to surrender his person and territories to the emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay 150,000 crowns towards defraying the expenses of the war; to demolish the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garrison which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor; to allow a free passage through his territories to the imperial troops as often as it shall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the emperor; to set at liberty, without ransom, Henry of Brunswick, together with the other prisoners whom he had taken during the war; and neither to take arms himself nor to permit any of his subjects to serve against the emperor or his allies for the future.

The landgrave ratified these articles, though with the utmost reluctance, as they contained no stipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him entirely at the emperor's mercy. The elector of Brandenburg and Maurice, however, assured the landgrave that Charles would behave to him in the same way as he had done to the duke of Wurtemberg, and would allow him, whenever he had made his submission, to return to his own territories. They sent him, moreover, a bond signed by them both, containing the most solemn obligations, that if any violence whatsoever was offered to his person during his interview with the emperor, they would instantly surrender themselves to his sons, and remain in their hands to be treated by them in the same manner as the emperor should treat him.

This, together with the indispensable obligation of performing what was contained in the articles of which he had accepted, removed his doubts and scruples, or made it necessary to get over them. He repaired for that purpose to the imperial camp at Halle in Saxony, where a circumstance occurred which revived his suspicions and increased his fears.



Just as he was about to enter the chamber of presence, in order to make his public submission to the emperor, a copy of the articles which he had approved of was put into his hands, in order that he might ratify them anew. Upon perusing them he perceived that the imperial ministers had added two new articles; one importing, that if any dispute should arise concerning the meaning of the former conditions, the emperor should have the right of putting what interpretation upon them he thought most reasonable; the other, that the landgrave was bound to submit implicitly to the decisions of the council of Trent. This unworthy artifice, calculated to surprise him into an approbation of articles to which he had not the most distant idea of assenting, by proposing them to him at a time when his mind was engrossed and disquieted with the thoughts of that humiliating ceremony which he had to perform, filled the landgrave with indignation, and made him break out into all those violent expressions of rage to which his temper was prone. With some difficulty the elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the emperor's ministers to drop the former article as unjust, and to explain the latter in such a manner that he could agree to it without openly renouncing the Protestant religion.

This obstacle being surmounted, the landgrave was impatient to finish a ceremony which had been declared necessary towards his obtaining pardon. The emperor was seated on a magnificent throne, with all the ensigns of his dignity, surrounded by a numerous train of the princes of the empire, among whom was Henry of Brunswick, lately the landgrave's prisoner, and now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, a spectator of his humiliation. The landgrave was introduced with great solemnity, and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his master's command, a paper which contained an humble confession of the crime whereof he

had been guilty. The emperor, with a haughty unfeeling composure, and preserving a profound silence, made a sign to one of his secretaries to read his answer, which was no sooner finished than Charles turned away abruptly, without deigning to give the unhappy suppliant any sign of compassion or reconciliation. He did not even desire him to rise from his knees; which the landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the emperor with an intention to kiss his hand, flattering himself that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might presume to take that liberty. But the elector of Brandenburg, perceiving that this familiarity would be offensive to the emperor, interposed, and desired the landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the duke of Alva's apartments in the castle.

He was received and entertained by that nobleman with the respect and courtesy due to such a guest. But after supper, while he was engaged in play, the duke took the elector and Maurice aside, and communicated to them the emperor's orders, that the landgrave must remain a prisoner in that place under the custody of a Spanish guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the most distant suspicion of the emperor's sincerity or rectitude of intention, their surprise was excessive, and their indignation not inferior to it, on discovering how greatly they had been deceived themselves, and how infamously abused, in having been made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourse to complaints, to arguments, and to entreaties, in order to save themselves from that disgrace, and to extricate him out of the wretched situation into which he had been betrayed by too great confidence in them. But the duke of Alva remained inflexible, and pleaded the necessity of executing the emperor's commands. By this time it grew late; and the landgrave, who knew nothing of what had passed nor dreaded the snare in which

he was entangled, prepared for departing, when the fatal orders were intimated to him. He was struck dumb at first with astonishment; but after being silent a few moments, he broke out into all the violent expressions which horror at injustice accompanied with fraud naturally suggests, so that, in order to soothe his rage and impatience, Maurice remained with him during the night, in the apartment where he was confined.

Next morning the elector and Maurice applied jointly to the emperor, representing the infamy to which they would be exposed throughout Germany if the landgrave were detained in custody. Charles listened to their earnest remonstrances with the utmost coolness, but denied redress; and they were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate prisoner with the ill success of their endeavours in his behalf. They renewed their solicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned, that if they touched again upon a subject so disagreeable, he would instantly give orders to convey the prisoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to serve him, they not only desisted but left the court; and as they did not choose to meet the first sallies of the landgrave's rage upon his learning the cause of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promised to the emperor as the most certain means of procuring a speedy release.

Whatever violent emotions their abandoning his cause in this manner occasioned, the landgrave's impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the sum which had been imposed on him, ordered his fortresses to be razed, and renounced all alliances which could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was still guarded with the same vigilant severity; and being carried

about, together with the degraded elector of Saxony, wherever the emperor went, their disgrace and his triumph were each day renewed.

The people of the different cities to whom Charles thus wantonly exposed those illustrious prisoners as a public spectacle, were sensibly touched with such an insult offered to the Germanic body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greatest princes. They had soon other causes of complaint, and such as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppression to insult, and arrogating to himself all the rights of a conqueror, exercised them with the utmost rigour. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores belonging to such as had been members of the Smalkaldic league; and having collected upwards of 500 pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he sent part of them into the Low Countries, part into Italy, and part into Spain, in order to spread by this means the fame of his success, and that they might serve as monuments of his having subdued a nation hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied by his sole authority large sums of money, as well upon those who had served him with fidelity during the war as upon such as had been in arms against him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war which, having been undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of punishment for their rebellion. By these exactions he amassed above 1,600,000 crowns, a sum which appeared prodigious in the sixteenth century. But so general was the consternation which had seized the Germans upon his rapid success, and such their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the same time, these extraordinary stretches of power greatly alarmed a people jealous of their privileges, and habituated during several ages to consider the imperial authority as



neither extensive nor formidable. This discontent and resentment, how industriously soever they concealed them, became universal; and the more these passions were restrained and kept down for the present, the more likely were they to burst out soon with additional violence.

While Charles gave law to the Germans like a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his subjects in Bohemia with still greater rigour. That kingdom possessed privileges and immunities as extensive as those of any nation in which the feudal institutions were established. The crown was elective, but Ferdinand began to despise a sceptre which he could not transmit to his posterity, and attempted to render it hereditary. But the Bohemians were too high-spirited tamely to relinquish privileges which they had long enjoyed. They chose Caspar Phlug, a nobleman of distinction, to be their general, and raised an army of 30,000 men to enforce their rights. But before they could enter Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, and the same dread of the emperor's power which had seized the rest of the Germans reached them. Ferdinand was not to be mollified by the late repentance and involuntary return of rebellious subjects to their duty, and imposed upon them terms of the utmost rigour.

The emperor having now humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued, the independent and stubborn spirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of punishment, held a diet at Augsburg, in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire. He durst not, however, trust the determination of a matter so interesting to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to subjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters there. The rest of his soldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; so that the members of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were surrounded by the same

army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his public entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took possession by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches; and his priests having by various ceremonies purified them from the pollution with which they supposed the unhallowed ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled them, they re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship.

The concourse of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, added to the fear of giving offence to the emperor by an absence which lay open to misconstruction, brought together almost all the princes, nobles, and representatives of cities, who had a right to sit in that assembly. The emperor, in the speech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to that point which seemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to those evils, he exhorted them to recognise its authority, and to acquiesce in the decisions of an assembly to which they had originally appealed as having the sole right of judgment in the case.

But the council to which Charles wished them to refer all their controversies was now translated to Bologna, a city subject to the pope, who began to be jealous of the emperor's increasing power. All the Spanish prelates, however, and most of the Neapolitan, by the emperor's express command, remained at Trent; the rest, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the legates to Bologna; and thus a schism commenced in that very assembly which had been called to heal the divisions of Christendom.

The emperor, at the same time, employed all his

interest to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul paid no regard to his request. Charles, as has been already observed, had so violently exasperated Peter Lewis Farnese, the pope's son, by refusing to grant him the investiture of Parma and Placentia, that he had watched ever since that time with all the vigilance of resentment for an opportunity of revenging that injury. His hatred and resentment extended to all those whom he knew that the emperor favoured; he did every ill office in his power to Gonzaga, governor of Milan, and had encouraged Fiesco in his attempt upon the life of Andrew Doria, because both Gonzaga and Doria possessed a great degree of the emperor's esteem and confidence. His malevolence and secret intrigues were not unknown to the emperor, who could not be more desirous to take vengeance on him than Gonzaga and Doria were to be employed as his instruments in inflicting it. Five noblemen of the greatest distinction in Placentia formed a plan in conjunction with Gonzaga for assassinating Farnese, and taking possession of the town, which proved successful.

Before next morning a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milanese, where they had been posted in expectation of the event, took possession of the city in the emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the imperialists attempted likewise to surprise, was saved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farnese had intrusted with the command of the garrison. The death of a son whom, notwithstanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an excess of parental tenderness, overwhelmed him with the deepest affliction, and the loss of a city of such consequence as Placentia greatly imbittered his sorrow. He accused Gonzaga, in open consistory, of having committed a cruel murder in order to prepare the way for an unjust usurpation, and immediately demanded of the emperor satisfaction for both; for the former by the punishment of

Gonzaga; for the latter, by the restitution of Placentia to his grandson Octavio, its rightful owner. But Charles eluded all his solicitations, and determined to keep possession of the city, together with its territories.

The pope was now eager to take arms against the emperor, in order to be avenged on the murderers of his son, and to recover the inheritance wrested from his family. Conscious, however, of his own inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the French king and the republic of Venice to join in an offensive league against Charles. But Henry, whilst he amused the pope with such general professions and promises as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the emperor, avoided any such engagement as might occasion an immediate rupture with Charles, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians imitated the wary conduct of the French king, as it nearly resembled the spirit which usually regulated their own conduct.

The diet of Augsburg, by the emperor's command, now petitioned the pope, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. But as this project did not succeed, Charles protested against the council of Bologna as an unlawful and schismatical conventicle, whose decisions ought of course to be held as null and invalid. He then ordered the compilation of a system of theology, conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, though expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, or in Scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery was retained, and the observation of all the rites which the Protestants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worship of God was enjoined. With regard to two points only



some relaxation in the rigour of opinion as well as some latitude in practice was admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheless, to perform all the functions of their sacred office; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, were still indulged in the privilege of receiving both. Even these were declared to be concessions for the sake of peace, and granted only for a season, in compliance with the weakness or prejudices of their countrymen.

This system of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, because it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the emperor presented to the diet, with a pompous declaration of his sincere intention to re-establish tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting these regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that desirable event. It was read in presence of the diet, according to form. As soon as it was finished, the archbishop of Mentz, president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to restore peace to the church, he, in the name of the diet, signified their approbation of the system of doctrine which had been read, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the elector's presumption in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the elector had said; some being overawed by fear, others remaining silent through complaisance. The emperor held the archbishop's declaration to be a full constitutional ratification of the *Interim*, and

prepared to enforce the observance of it as a decree of the empire.

During this diet the wife and children of the landgrave, warmly seconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured, but without success, to interest the members in behalf of that unhappy prince, who still languished in confinement. In order, however, to counterbalance the unfavourable impression which this inflexible rigour might make, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no less permanent and unchangeable than his resentment, invested Maurice in the electoral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp in an open court, so near the apartment in which the degraded elector was kept a prisoner, that he could view it from his windows. Even this insult did not ruffle his usual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a prosperous rival receiving those ensigns of dignity of which he had been stripped, without uttering one sentiment unbecoming the fortitude that he had preserved amidst all his calamities.

Immediately after the dissolution of the diet the emperor ordered the Interim to be published in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the usual reception of conciliating schemes when proposed to men heated with disputation; both parties declaimed against it with equal violence. The emperor, however, fond of his own plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into full execution. But John, marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, although he had taken part with great zeal in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde, refused to renounce doctrines which he held to be sacred; and reminding the emperor of the repeated promises which he had given his Protestant allies of allowing them the free exercise of their religion, he claimed, in consequence of these, to be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some other princes also ventured to mention the same scruples and to plead the same indul-

gence. But on this as on other trying occasions the firmness of the elector of Saxony was most distinguished, and merited the highest praise. Charles, well knowing the authority of his example with all the Protestant party, laboured with the utmost earnestness to gain his approbation of the Interim, and by employing sometimes promises of setting him at liberty, sometimes threats of treating him with greater harshness, attempted alternately to work upon his hopes and his fears. But he was alike regardless of both. After having declared his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, 'I cannot now,' said he, 'in my old age abandon the principles for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer. Better for me to enjoy in this solitude the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conscience, than to return into the world with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days.' By this magnanimous resolution he set his countrymen a pattern of conduct so very different from that which the emperor wished him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him fresh marks of displeasure. The rigour of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the Luteran clergymen who had hitherto been permitted to attend him were dismissed; and even the books of devotion which had been his chief consolation during a tedious imprisonment were taken from him. The landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy. His patience and fortitude were both so much exhausted by the length of his confinement, that, willing to purchase freedom at any price, he wrote to the emperor offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an unreserved submission to his will in every other particular. But Charles, who knew that whatever course the landgrave might hold,

neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as strictly as ever; and while he suffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct set in contrast to that of the elector. he derived not the smallest benefit from the mean step which exposed him to much deserved censure.

But it was in the imperial cities that Charles met with the most violent opposition to the Interim. They, with one voice, joined in refusing to admit it. Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Constance, Bremen, Magdeburg, together with many other towns of less note, presented remonstrances to the emperor, but were compelled by violence to submit. The emperor's first attempt was upon the city of Augsburg, which, though overawed with the presence of the Spanish troops, he knew to be as much dissatisfied with the Interim as any in the empire. He ordered one body of these troops to seize the gates; he posted the rest in different quarters of the city; and assembling all the burgesses in the town-hall, he, by his sole absolute authority, published a decree abolishing their present form of government, dissolving all their corporations and fraternities, and nominating a small number of persons in whom he vested for the future all the powers of government. Each of the persons thus chosen took an oath to observe the Interim. An act of power so unprecedented as well as arbitrary, which excluded the body of the inhabitants from any share in the government of their own community, and subjected them to men who had no other merit than their servile devotion to the emperor's will, gave general disgust; but as they durst not venture upon resistance, they were obliged to submit in silence. From Augsburg, in which he left a garrison, he proceeded to Ulm, and new-modelling its government with the same violent hand, he seized such of their pastors as refused to subscribe the Interim, committed them to prison, and at his depar-



ture carried them along with him in chains. By this severity he not only secured the reception of the Interim in two of the most powerful cities, but gave warning to the rest what such as continued refractory had to expect. The effect of the example was as great as he could have wished; and many towns, in order to save themselves from the like treatment, found it necessary to comply with what he enjoined.

Charles, highly pleased with having bent the stubborn spirit of the Germans to such general submission, departed for the Low Countries, fully determined to compel the cities which still stood out to receive the Interim. He carried his two prisoners, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, along with him, either because he durst not leave them behind him in Germany, or because he wished to give his countrymen the Flemings this illustrious proof of the success of his arms and the extent of his power. He was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him so frequently, and with such increasing violence, that it had broken to a great degree the vigour of his constitution. He nevertheless did not slacken his endeavours to enforce the Interim. The inhabitants of Strasburg, after a long struggle, found it necessary to yield obedience; those of Constance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled not only to conform to the Interim, but to renounce their privileges as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as archduke of Austria, and, as his vassals, to admit an Austrian governor and garrison. Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubec, were the only imperial cities of note that still continued refractory.

## BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured with such unwearied industry to persuade or to force the Protestants to adopt his regulations with respect to religion, the effects of his steadiness in the execution of his plan were rendered less considerable by his rupture with the pope, which daily increased. Paul recalled his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be reannexed to the holy see, indemnified his grandson Octavio by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state. But Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, could not bear with patience to be spoiled of one-half of his territories by the rapaciousness of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grandfather, and took measures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his interest. He set out secretly from Rome, and having first endeavoured to surprise Parma, which attempt was frustrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the pope had intrusted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the emperor, of renouncing all connexion with the pope, and of depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of severity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the sixteenth year of his administration and the eighty-second of his age.

As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourse of cardinals at Rome: the imperial and French factions strove with emulation to promote one of their own number, and

had by turns the prospect of success. But as Paul, during a long pontificate, had raised many to the purple, and those chiefly persons of eminent abilities as well as zealously devoted to his family, cardinal Farnese had the command of a powerful and united squadron, by whose address and firmness he exalted to the papal throne the cardinal di Monte, whom Paul had employed as his principal legate in the council of Trent, and trusted with his most secret intentions. He assumed the name of Julius III.; and the first act of his administration was to put Octavio Farnese in possession of Parma. When the injury which he did to the holy see, by alienating a territory of such value, was mentioned by some of the cardinals, he briskly replied, 'That he would rather be a poor pope with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him and the promises which he had made.' But all the lustre of this candour or generosity he quickly effaced by an action most shockingly indecent. According to an ancient and established practice, every pope upon his election considers it as his privilege to bestow on whom he pleases the cardinal's hat which falls to be disposed of by his being invested with the triple crown. Julius, to the astonishment of the sacred college, conferred this mark of distinction, together with ample ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of sixteen, born of obscure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been trusted with the care of an animal of that species in the cardinal di Monte's family. The rest of the pope's conduct was of a piece with this first specimen of his dispositions. Having now reached the summit of ecclesiastical ambition, he seemed eager to indemnify himself, by an unrestrained indulgence of his desires, for the self-denial or dissimulation which he had thought it prudent to practise while in a subordinate station.

He became careless to so great a degree of all serious business, that he could seldom be brought to attend to it but in cases of extreme necessity; and giving up himself to amusements and dissipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo rather than the severe virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was necessary to display in contending with a sect which derived great credit from the rigid and austere manners of its teachers.

Charles now solicited earnestly that a new bull of convocation might be issued; and the pope could not with decency reject that request. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endeavoured to take to himself all the merit of having procured the meeting of an assembly which was the object of such general desire and expectation. A congregation of cardinals, to whom he referred the consideration of what was necessary for restoring peace to the church, recommended, by his direction, the speedy convocation of a council, as the most effectual expedient for that purpose; and as the new heresies raged with the greatest violence in Germany, they proposed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inspection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater discernment and certainty of success. The pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himself had dictated, and sent nuncios to the imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions.

About this time the emperor had summoned a new diet to meet at Augsburg, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the supreme court in the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in person, together with his son, the prince of Spain. Few electors were present, but all sent deputies in their name. Charles took care to overawe the diet by a con-



siderable body of Spanish troops which escorted him thither. The first point submitted to the consideration of the diet was the necessity of holding a council. All the popish members agreed without difficulty, that the meeting of that assembly should be renewed at Trent, and promised an implicit acquiescence in its decrees. The Protestants, intimidated and disunited, must have followed their example, and the resolution of the diet would have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

By an artful dissimulation of his own sentiments, by address in paying court to the emperor, and by the seeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious schemes, Maurice had raised himself to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the most powerful prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the emperor had afforded him many opportunities of observing narrowly the dangerous tendency of that monarch's schemes. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate one moment whether he should establish that form of doctrine and worship in his dominions; but being sensible how odious it was to his subjects, instead of violently imposing it on them by the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpose he had assembled the clergy of his country at Leipsic, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reasons which made it necessary to conform to it. He had gained some of them by promises, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whose

merit of every kind entitled him to the first place among Protestant divines, being now deprived of the manly counsels of Luther, which were wont to inspire him with fortitude, and to preserve him steady amidst the storms and dangers that threatened the church, was seduced into unwarrantable concessions by the timidity of his temper, his fond desire of peace, and his excessive complaisance towards persons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no less than by Maurice's address, the assembly was prevailed on to declare, 'that in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful superior.'

By this dexterous conduct the introduction of the Interim excited none of those violent convulsions in Saxony which it occasioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons submitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed against Melancthon and his associates as false brethren. Maurice being conscious what a colour of probability his past conduct gave to those accusations, as well as afraid of losing entirely the confidence of the Protestants, issued a declaration, containing professions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, and of his resolution to guard against all the errors and encroachments of the papal see.

Having gone so far in order to remove the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, he found it necessary to efface the impression which such a declaration might make upon the emperor. For that purpose he not only renewed his professions of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but, as the city of Magdeburg still persisted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and instantly set about levying troops to be employed in that service. The senate of Magdeburg, undismayed by these warlike preparations, obstinately persevered in their opposition, and began to strengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence.

Charles required the diet to assist him in quelling this audacious rebellion against a decree of the empire, and the presence of the Spanish troops, together with the dread of the emperor's displeasure, overawed its members to such a degree, that without venturing to utter their own sentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the emperor was pleased to prescribe. The rigorous decrees which Charles had issued by his own authority against the Magdeburgers were confirmed; a resolution was taken to raise troops in order to besiege the city in form; and persons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furnished by each state. At the same time the diet petitioned that Maurice might be intrusted with the command of that army; to which Charles gave his consent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wisdom of the choice which they had made. Maurice accepted without hesitation the command to which he was recommended, instantly discerning the important advantages which he might derive from having it committed to him.

Meanwhile Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, observed all those tedious forms which the court of Rome can artfully employ to retard any disagreeable measure. At last, however, it was published, and the council was summoned to meet at Trent, on the first day of the ensuing month of May, 1551. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or disputed the authority and jurisdiction which the papal see claims with respect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to assert in the strongest terms his own right, not only to call and preside in that assembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he soften these expressions in any degree, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the emperor, who foresaw what offence they would give, and what construction might be put on them. They were censured accordingly with great severity by several members

of the diet ; but whatever disgust or suspicion they excited, such complete influence over all their deliberations had the emperor acquired, that he procured a recess in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church ; all the princes and states of the empire, such as had made innovations in religion, as well as those who adhered to the system of their forefathers, were required to send their representatives to the council ; the emperor engaged to grant a safe-conduct to such as demanded it, and to secure them an impartial hearing in the council ; he promised to fix his residence in some city of the empire in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his presence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to Scripture, and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a desirable issue. In this recess the observation of the Interim was more strongly enjoined than ever ; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refused to conform to it, with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they persisted in their disobedience.

Charles imagined that he might now be able to establish uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the council of Trent. Julius III., though he had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the duchy of Parma during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, soon began to repent of his own generosity, and to be apprehensive of consequences which either he did not foresee or had disregarded while the sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese was recent. The emperor still retained Placentia in his hands, and had not relinquished his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the empire. Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by the part which he took in the murder of the late duke Peter Ludovico,



offered an insult to the family of Farnese, which he knew could never be forgiven, had for that reason vowed its destruction, and employed all the influence which his great abilities as well as long services gave him with the emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his solicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

Octavio, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary for his own safety to increase the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. After a fruitless application to the pope, he solicited aid of the French king, who instantly concluded a treaty in which he bound himself to espouse his cause, and to furnish him all the assistance which he desired. This transaction could not long be kept secret from the pope, who, foreseeing the calamities which must follow if war were rekindled so near the ecclesiastical state, immediately issued monitory letters, requiring Octavio to relinquish his new alliance. Upon his refusal to comply with the requisition, the pope soon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war against him as a disobedient and rebellious vassal. But as with his own forces alone he could not hope to subdue Octavio while supported by such a powerful ally as the king of France, he had recourse to the emperor, who being extremely solicitous to prevent the establishment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to second Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the imperialists as the protectors of the holy see; and hostilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themselves still affected to give out that they would adhere in-

violably to the peace of Crespy. The war of Parma was not distinguished by any memorable event. Many small rencounters happened with alternate success; the French ravaged part of the ecclesiastical territories; the imperialists laid waste the Parmesan; and the latter, after having begun to besiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterprise with disgrace.

These proceedings retarded the meeting of the council till the 1st of September. At that time about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical state or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened. The session was opened with the accustomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to business, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and presenting letters of credence as ambassador from the king of France, protested, in Henry's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture. The legate affected to despise this protest; and the prelates proceeded, notwithstanding, to examine and decide the great points in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction. This measure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council at the very commencement of its deliberations.

The emperor, nevertheless, was straining his authority to the utmost in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of the council. At the same time his zeal anticipated its decrees; and as if the opinions of the Protestants had already been condemned, he took large steps towards exterminating them. With this intention he called together the ministers of Augsburg; and after interrogating them concerning several controverted points, enjoined them to teach nothing, with respect to these, contrary to the tenets of the Romish church. Upon their declining to comply with a requisition so contrary to the dictates of their consciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without

revealing to any person the cause of their banishment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any province of the empire; and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey these injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Protestant clergy in most of the cities in the circle of Suabia were ejected with the same violence; and in many places, such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions were dismissed with the most abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in consequence of the emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the most bigoted of their adversaries. The reformed worship was almost entirely suppressed throughout that extensive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests whom they regarded with horror as idolaters, and to submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates whom they detested as usurpers.

The emperor, after this discovery of his intention to subvert the German constitution, and extirpate the Protestant religion, set out for Inspruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his residence in that city, as, by his situation in the neighbourhood of Trent and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious station whence he might inspect the operations of the council and observe the progress of the war in the Parmesan, without losing sight of such occurrences as might happen in Germany.

During these transactions the siege of Magdeburg was carried on with various success. At the time when Charles proscribed the citizens of Magdeburg, and put them under the ban of the empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring states to take arms against them as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promises, George of Mecklenburg, a younger brother of the reigning duke, an active and ambitious prince, collected a considerable number of those sol-

diers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunswick in all his wild enterprises ; and though a zealous Lutheran himself, invaded the territories of the Magdeburgers, hoping that by the merit of this service he might procure some part of their domains to be allotted to him as an establishment. The citizens could not be restrained from sallying out in order to save their lands from being laid waste. They attacked the duke of Mecklenburg, but were repulsed with great slaughter. But as they acquired military skill by degrees, and added all the advantages of that to the efforts of undaunted courage, the duke of Mecklenburg, notwithstanding the severe blow which he had given the Magdeburgers, not daring to invest the town, continued to ravage the open country.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to the camp of this young prince, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he possessed by being at the head of such a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburg with his own troops, assumed the supreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indisputable title. With this united force he invested the town, and began the siege in form ; claiming great merit with the emperor on that account, as, from his zeal to execute the imperial decree, he was exposing himself once more to the censures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious sentiments. But the approaches to the town went on slowly ; the garrison interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies (in one of which George of Mecklenburg was taken prisoner), levelled part of their works, and cut off the soldiers in their advanced posts. While the citizens of Magdeburg endured all the hardships of a siege without murmuring, and defended themselves with the same ardour which they had at first discovered,—the troops of the besiegers acted with extreme remissness, repining



at every thing that they suffered in a service which they disliked, and broke out more than once into open mutiny.

At last the inhabitants of the town beginning to suffer distress from want of provisions, Maurice concluded a treaty of capitulation with them. Next day their garrison marched out, and Maurice took possession of the town with great military pomp; though he had previously assured Albert, count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburg, that the fortifications should not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. Maurice knew that the chief object of the emperor's solicitude at this juncture was, how he might prevail with the Protestant states of Germany to recognise the authority of the council of Trent, and to send thither ambassadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their respective churches, and he took hold of this predominating passion in order to amuse and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he desired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambassadors whom he empowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and some of the most eminent among his brethren to prepare a confession of faith, and to lay it before that assembly. After his example, and probably in consequence of his solicitations, the duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Strasburg, and other Protestant states, appointed ambassadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the emperor for his safe-conduct, which they obtained in the most ample form. This was deemed sufficient for the security of the ambassadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey: but a separate safe-conduct from the council itself was demanded for the Protestant divines. The fate of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whom the council of Constance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the im-

perial safe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and necessary. But the pope prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline issuing a safe-conduct in the same form with that which the council of Basil had granted to the followers of Huss. The Protestants, on their part, insisted upon the council's copying the precise words of that instrument, and during the controversy which took place upon this subject, Maurice gained leisure to mature his schemes, before he threw off the mask, and struck the blow which he had so long meditated.

But previous to entering into any farther detail concerning Maurice's operations, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing such extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, deprived the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate prince the country of Transylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young king, he committed to the queen, and Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, whom the late king had appointed joint guardians of his son and regents of his dominions, at a time when those offices were of greater importance. But a strong feeling of jealousy soon sprung up between the two guardians; an ambitious young queen and a high-spirited prelate were contending who should engross the greatest share in the administration: the young queen courted the protection of the Turks, and with this assistance would soon have succeeded in obtaining the sole direction of affairs, if the wary bishop had not called in the aid of a more powerful ally; he entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand, and before the Turkish bashaws could afford the queen any assistance (the sultan being with his army on the frontiers of Persia), he compelled her to relinquish her right to Transylvania, and to retire with her son to Silesia,

while he became sole governor of the province. Ferdinand, however, still dreaded Martinuzzi's abilities, and distrusting his fidelity, he concerted a plan for the murder of that prelate, which he soon found means to execute. The Transylvanians were restrained by dread of the foreign troops stationed in their country, from rising in arms in order to take vengeance on the murderers. But the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew hostilities; and Ferdinand soon discovered that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour and defended with less zeal than ever.

By this time Maurice, having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field against the emperor. He courted the protection of France, and found Henry II. disposed to listen to his first overtures. John de Fienne, bishop of Bayonne, whom Henry had sent into Germany under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his associates. The only motives assigned for their present confederacy against Charles were to procure the landgrave liberty, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German empire. This treaty was concluded on the 5th of October, some time before Magdeburg surrendered, and the preparatory negotiations were conducted with such profound secrecy, that of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated what he was carrying on to two only, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, and William of Hesse, the landgrave's eldest son. The league itself was no less anxiously concealed, and with such fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his ministers, nor do they seem to have conceived the most distant suspicion of such a transaction.

Maurice now judged it necessary to make one

effort more in order to obtain the emperor's consent that the landgrave should be set at liberty. But Charles eluded the demand, and having declared that he would communicate his resolution concerning the matter to Maurice as soon as he arrived at Inspruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to descend into any more particular explication of his intentions. This application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable concession which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. It was of use, too, to confirm the emperor in his security, as both the solemnity of the application, and the solicitude with which so many princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude that they placed all their hopes of restoring the landgrave to liberty in gaining his consent to dismiss him.

The time of action was now approaching. Maurice had privately despatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his league with Henry, and to hasten the march of the French army. He had taken measures to bring his own subjects together on the first summons; he had provided for the security of Saxony while he should be absent with the army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on a moment's warning. All these complicated operations were carried on without being discovered by the court at Inspruck, and the emperor remained there in perfect tranquillity, busied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the conditions on which the Protestant divines should be admitted into the council, as if there had not been any transaction of greater moment in agitation.

But besides the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumstances



contributed to the delusion. The gout had returned upon Charles, soon after his arrival at Inspruck, with an increase of violence; and his constitution being broken by such frequent attacks, he was seldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to consider affairs with his usual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, bishop of Arras, his prime minister, despised all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's secret machinations or the dangerous designs which he was carrying on. He had, however, bribed two of Maurice's ministers, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their master's motions. But Maurice fortunately discovered the correspondence of the two traitors with Granvelle; and dexterously availed himself of their fraud, and turned his own arts against the bishop. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his consultations; he seemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what it was his interest should be known, they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity as well as good intentions.

At last Maurice's preparations were completed, and he had the satisfaction to find that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aside the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out that he was about to begin that journey to Inspruck of which he had so often talked, and he took one of the ministers whom Granvelle had bribed, to attend him thither. After travelling post a few stages, he pretended to be indisposed by the fatigue of the journey; and despatching the suspected minister to make his apology to the emperor for this delay, and to assure him that he would be at Inspruck within a few days, he

mounted on horseback as soon as this spy on his actions was gone, rode full speed towards Thuringia, joined his army, which amounted to 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse, and put it immediately in motion.

At the same time he published a manifesto containing his reasons for taking arms. These were three in number: That he might secure the Protestant religion, which was threatened with immediate destruction; that he might maintain the constitution and laws of the empire, and save Germany from being subjected to the dominion of an absolute monarch; that he might deliver the landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. Together with Maurice's manifesto, another appeared in the name of Albert, marquis of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined him with a body of adventurers whom he had drawn together. The same grievances which Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it, but with an excess of virulence and animosity suitable to the character of the prince in whose name it was published.

The king of France added to these a manifesto in his own name; in which he declared, that he now took arms to re-establish the ancient constitution of the empire, to deliver some of its princes from captivity, and to secure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body. In this manifesto Henry assumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and of its captive Princes*; and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans that this blessing was to be acquired and secured by force of arms.

Maurice had now to act a part entirely new, but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itself to every situation. The moment he took arms he was as bold and enterprising in the field as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper

Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburg: and as the imperial garrison, which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took possession of that great city, and made the same changes there as in the towns through which he had passed.

No words can express the emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He placed all his hopes on negotiation, the only resource of such as are conscious of their own weakness. But thinking it inconsistent with his dignity to make the first advances to subjects who were in arms against him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice, confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in such a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that, by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the first overture of accommodation, he might amuse the emperor, and tempt him to slacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himself, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Austria; and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired thither.

Meanwhile the king of France punctually fulfilled his engagements to his allies. He took the field early, with a numerous and well-appointed army; and marching directly into Lorraine, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent stratagem of the constable Montmorency, who, having obtained permission to pass through it with a small guard, introduced as many troops as were sufficient to overpower the garrison, was likewise seized without bloodshed. Henry made his entry

into all these towns with great pomp ; he obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him, and annexed those important conquests to the French monarchy. He left a strong garrison in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alsace, in order to attempt new conquests, to which the success that had hitherto attended his arms invited him. As the conference of Lintz did not produce any accommodation, Ferdinand proposed a second interview at Passau on the 26th of May, 1552, and that a truce should commence on that day, and continue to the 10th of June, in order to give them leisure for adjusting all the points in dispute.

Upon this Maurice rejoined his army on the 9th of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning ; and as sixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he resolved during that period to venture upon an enterprise, the success of which would be so decisive as to render the negotiations at Passau extremely short, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He marched directly at the head of his army towards Inspruck, and advanced with the most rapid motion that could be given to so great a body of troops. On the 18th he arrived at Fiessen, a post of great consequence, at the entrance into the Tyrolese. There he found a body of 800 men whom the emperor had assembled, strongly intrenched, in order to oppose his progress. He attacked them instantly with such violence and impetuosity that they abandoned their lines precipitately, and falling back on a second body posted near Ruten, communicated the panic terror with which they themselves had been seized to those troops ; so that they likewise took to flight after a feeble resistance.

Elated with this success, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes, Maurice pressed forward to Ehrenberg, a castle situated on a high and steep precipice, which commanded the only pass through the moun-



ains. As this fort had been surrendered to the Protestants at the beginning of the Smalkaldic war, because the garrison was then too weak to defend it, the emperor, sensible of its importance, had taken care at this juncture to throw into it a body of troops sufficient to maintain it against the greatest army. But a shepherd, in pursuing a goat which had strayed from his flock, having discovered an unknown path by which it was possible to ascend to the top of the rock, came with this seasonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A small band of chosen soldiers, under the command of George of Mecklenburg, was instantly ordered to follow this guide. They set out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the summit unperceived, and at an hour which had been agreed on, when Maurice began the assault on the one side of the castle, they appeared on the other, ready to scale the walls, which were feeble in that place, because it had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. The garrison, struck with terror at the sight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themselves perfectly secure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almost without bloodshed, and (which was of greater consequence to him) without loss of time, took possession of a place the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill.

Maurice was now only two days' march from Inspruck, and without losing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unserviceable in that mountainous country, at Fiessen, to guard the mouth of the pass. He proposed to advance with such rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loss of Ehrenberg, and to surprise the emperor, together with his attendants, in an open town incapable of defence. But just as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not stir until

they had received the gratuity which, according to the custom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by assault. It was with great difficulty as well as danger, and not without some considerable loss of time, that Maurice quieted this insurrection, and prevailed on the soldiers to follow him to a place where he promised them such rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their services.

To the delay occasioned by this unforeseen accident the emperor owed his safety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly left Inspruck, without regarding the darkness of the night or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time ; and notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almost impassable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, some of them on such horses as they could hastily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length, with his dejected train, at Villach in Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote inaccessible corner.

Maurice entered Inspruck a few hours after the emperor and his attendants had left it ; and enraged that the prey should escape out of his hands when he was just ready to seize it, he pursued them some miles ; but finding it impossible to overtake persons to whom their fear gave speed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the emperor's baggage, together with that of his ministers, to be plundered by the soldiers ; while he preserved untouched every thing belonging to the king of the Romans, either

because he had formed some friendly connexion with that prince, or because he wished to have it believed that such a connexion subsisted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce (with such nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he set out for Passau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

Before Charles left Inspruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a prisoner; and set him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarrass Maurice by letting loose a rival who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a sense of the indecency of detaining him a prisoner while he himself ran the risk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that prince, seeing no other way of escaping than that which the emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinsman whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final decision of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

These were not the only effects which Maurice's operations produced. It was no sooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general consternation seized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the safety of their respective territories. The rest were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambassadors to procure an audience in the council for the Protestant divines, laid hold with joy on such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly which he had found it so difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the 28th of April, a decree was issued, proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time,

if peace were then re-established in Europe. This prorogation, however, continued no less than ten years ; and the proceedings of the council, when re-assembled in the year 1562, fall not within the period prescribed to this history.

While Maurice was employed in negotiating with the king of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the emperor in the Tyrol, the French king had advanced into Alsace as far as Strasburg ; and having demanded leave of the senate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the same fraud which he had practised at Metz, he might render himself master of the place, and by that means secure a passage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Strasburgers having assembled a garrison of 5,000 soldiers, repaired their fortifications, razed the houses in their suburbs, and determined to defend themselves to the utmost, the king reluctantly abandoned the enterprise, and marched back towards Champagne.

While the French king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was intrusted with the command of a separate body of 8,000 men, and seeing himself at the head of such a number of desperate adventurers, soon began to form such extravagant schemes of aggrandizing himself as seldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unless when civil war or violent factions rouse them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of success. He paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whose commands as generalissimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonstrances of the other confederates ; and manifestly discovered that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any solicitude about the common cause or the general objects which had induced them to take arms.

Maurice having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, met Ferdinand at Passau on the 26th day of May, with whom he endeavoured to negotiate :



Ferdinand conferred with the emperor, who peremptorily refused to redress the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any stipulation for the immediate security of the Protestant religion, but proposed referring both these questions to the determination of a future diet. Maurice, who was well aware of the emperor's art, concluded he had nothing in view by these overtures but to amuse and deceive; and therefore, without listening to Ferdinand's entreaties, he left Passau abruptly, and joined his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order—put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. As 3,000 men in the emperor's pay had thrown themselves into Francfort on the Maine, and might from thence invest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city, and laid siege to it in form. The briskness of this enterprise, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the emperor, as disposed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation: he signified his willingness to make concessions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of the conditions offered, though less advantageous than those which he had proposed, than again to commit all to the doubtful issue of war. He repaired forthwith to Passau, and agreed to the treaty of peace; of which the chief articles were,—That before the 12th day of August the confederates shall lay down their arms; that the landgrave shall be set at liberty; that a diet shall be held within six months; that in the mean time neither the emperor nor any other prince shall offer any injury or violence to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that in return the Protestants shall not molest the Catholics; that the imperial chamber shall

administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the Catholics to sit as judges in that court; that if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the Protestants shall continue for ever in full force and vigour.— This memorable treaty, which was so favourable to the Protestant cause, was signed by all parties on the 2d of August following.

## BOOK XI.

As soon as the treaty of Passau was signed, Maurice, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary at the head of 20,000 men. But the great superiority of the Turkish armies, the frequent mutinies both of the Spanish and German soldiers, occasioned by their want of pay, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to resign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country suitable to his former fame, or of great benefit to the king of the Romans.

When Maurice set out for Hungary, the prince of Hesse parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government, which he had held during his absence. But fortune was not yet weary of persecuting the landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops which had been in the pay of Hesse, being seduced by Reisenberg their colonel, a soldier of fortune, ready to engage in any enterprise, secretly withdrew from the young prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburg, who still continued in arms against the emperor, refusing to be included in the treaty of Passau. Unhappily for the landgrave an account of this reached the Netherlands just as he

was dismissed from the citadel of Mechlin where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incensed at such an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, issued orders to arrest him, and committed him again to the custody of the same Spanish captain who had guarded him for five years with the most severe vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his imprisonment renewed; and his spirits subsiding in the same proportion as they had risen during the short interval in which he had enjoyed liberty, he sunk into despair, and believed himself to be doomed to perpetual captivity. But the matter being so explained to the emperor as fully satisfied him that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the landgrave nor to his son, he gave orders for his release, and Philip at last obtained the liberty for which he had so long languished. But though he recovered his freedom and was reinstated in his dominions, his sufferings seem to have broken the vigour and to have extinguished the activity of his mind; from being the boldest as well as the most enterprising prince in the empire, he became the most timid and cautious, and passed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

The degraded elector of Saxony likewise procured his liberty in consequence of the treaty of Passau. The emperor having been obliged to relinquish all his schemes of extirpating the Protestant religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a prisoner; and being extremely solicitous, at that juncture, to recover the confidence and good-will of the Germans, whose assistance was essential to the success of the enterprise which he meditated against the king of France, he, among other expedients for that purpose, thought of releasing from imprisonment a prince whose merit entitled him no less to esteem than his sufferings rendered him the object of

compassion. John Frederic took possession accordingly of that part of his territories which had been reserved for him when Maurice was invested with the electoral dignity. As in this situation he continued to display the same virtuous magnanimity for which he had been conspicuous in a more prosperous and splendid state, and which he had retained amidst all his sufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had so just a title.

The loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had made a deep impression on the emperor. He thought that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow Henry the superiority in this war, or to suffer his own administration to be stained with the infamy of having permitted territories of such consequence to be dismembered from the empire. As soon, then, as the peace was concluded at Passau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augsburg, at the head of a considerable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To these he added several battalions, which, having been in the pay of the confederates, entered into his service when dismissed by them ; and he prevailed likewise on some princes of the empire to join him with their vassals. In order to conceal the destination of this formidable army, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to second Maurice in his operations against the infidels. When he begun to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and spread a report that he took this route in order to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, whose cruel exactions in that part of the empire called loudly for his interposition to check them.

But Henry immediately discerned the true object of his vast preparations, and resolved to defend the important conquests which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be



attacked. As he foresaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned against Metz, by whose fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise, to take the command in that city during the siege, the issue of which would equally affect the honour and interest of his country. But the duke of Guise found every thing upon his arrival there in such a situation as might have induced any person of less intrepid courage to despair of defending it with success. The city was of great extent, with large suburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected instead of bastions, were at too great distance from each other to defend the space between them. For all these defects he endeavoured to provide the best remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the suburbs, without sparing the monasteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which several kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard against the imputation of impiety, to which such a violation of so many sacred edifices as well as of the ashes of the dead might expose him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy vestments and utensils, together with the bones of the kings and other persons deposited in these churches, to be removed, they were carried in solemn procession to a church within the walls, he himself walking before them bare-headed with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down such houses as stood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was necessary that all these works should be finished with the utmost expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the soldiers submitted with cheerfulness to the most severe and fatiguing service when they saw that their superiors did not

decline to bear a part in it. At the same time he compelled all useless persons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; he burnt the mills and destroyed the corn and forage for several miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers; and every other passion being swallowed up in the zeal to repulse the enemy with which he inspired them, they beheld the ruin of their estates, together with the havoc which he made among their public and private buildings, without any emotion of resentment.

Meantime the emperor, having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he passed through the cities on the Rhine, he saw the dismal effects of that licentious and wasteful war which Albert had carried on in these parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of 20,000 men, withdrew into Lorraine, as if he had intended to join the French king, whose arms he had quartered with his own in all his standards and ensigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the imperial troops, which amounted at least to 60,000 men, forming one of the most numerous and best-appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars among Christian princes.

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, assisted by the marquis de Marignano, together with the most experienced of the Italian and Spanish generals. As it was now towards the end of October, these intelligent officers represented the great danger of beginning at such an advanced season a siege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his usual obstinacy; and being confident that he had made such preparations and taken such precautions as would insure success, he

ordered the city to be invested. As soon as the duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French sallied out and attacked his vanguard with great vigour, put it in confusion, and killed or took prisoners a considerable number of men. The place, however, was completely invested, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

The attention both of the besiegers and besieged was turned for some time towards Albert of Brandenburg. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the imperialists scrupled at no promise which they thought might allure him, and after much hesitation he was gained by the emperor. The French king, who began to suspect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guise, to watch his motions: Albert fell upon them unexpectedly with such vigour, that he routed them entirely, killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himself, and took him prisoner. Immediately after this victory he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this service, and the great accession of strength which he brought him, granted a formal pardon of all past offences, and confirmed him in the possession of the territories which he had violently usurped during the war.

The duke of Guise harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies, in which his officers were so eager to distinguish themselves, that he was obliged at different times to shut the gates and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood, and noblemen of the first rank, from exposing themselves to danger in every sally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almost equal strength. The imperialists, on their part, pushed on the attack with great spirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches against different parts of the town. The em-

peror, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp, that by his presence he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

But by this time winter had set in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with snow; at the same time provisions were become extremely scarce, as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood often intercepted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; great numbers were disabled from serving, and many died. At length such breaches were made as seemed practicable, and Charles resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of all the remonstrances of his generals. The duke of Guise suspecting the emperor's intentions from the extraordinary movements which he observed in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They appeared immediately on the walls and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, stood motionless in a timid dejected silence. The emperor perceiving that he could not trust troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deserted by his soldiers, who deserved no longer the name of men.

Deeply as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected Charles, he would not hear of abandon-



ing the siege, though he saw the necessity of changing the method of attack. He suspended the fury of his batteries, and proposed to proceed by the more secure but tedious method of sapping. But at last finding it impossible to contend any longer, he yielded to the solicitations of his generals, who conjured him to save the remains of his army by a timely retreat: 'Fortune,' says he, 'I now perceive, resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours on young men, while she turns her back on those who are advanced in years.'

Upon this he gave orders immediately to raise the siege, and submitted to the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he had lost upwards of 30,000 men, who died of diseases or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the imperialists, sent out several bodies both of cavalry and infantry to infest their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confusion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have harassed them in the most cruel manner. But when they sallied out, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guise immediately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear it into the adjacent villages;

and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at present, the duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name.

To these calamities in Germany were added such unfortunate events in Italy as rendered this the most disastrous year in the emperor's life. During his residence at Villach, Charles had applied to Cosmo di Medici for the loan of 200,000 crowns. But his credit at that time was so low, that in order to obtain this inconsiderable sum, he was obliged to put him in possession of the principality of Piombino; and by giving up that, he lost the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany, and enabled Cosmo to assume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a prince altogether independent. Much about the time that his indigence constrained him to part with this valuable territory, he lost Siena, which was of still greater consequence, through the ill conduct of don Diego de Mendoza.

Siena, like most of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government under the protection of the empire; but being torn in pieces by the dissensions between the nobility and the people, which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the ascendant, besought the emperor to become the guardian of the administration which they had established, and admitted into their city a small body of Spanish soldiers, whom he had sent to countenance the execution of the laws and to preserve tranquillity among

them. The command of these troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambassador for the emperor at Rome, who persuaded the credulous multitude that it was necessary, for their security against any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Siena; and as he flattered himself that by means of this fortress he might render the emperor master of the city, he pushed on the works with all possible despatch. But he threw off the mask too soon. Before the fortifications were completed, he began to indulge his natural haughtiness and severity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great insolence. At the same time the soldiers in garrison being paid as irregularly as the emperor's troops usually were, lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licence and oppression.

These injuries awakened the Sienese to a sense of their danger. As they saw the necessity of exerting themselves while the unfinished fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of success, they applied to the French ambassador at Rome, who readily promised them his master's protection and assistance. At the same time, forgetting their domestic animosities when such a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and existence of the republic, they sent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in saving their country from the servitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to lose, measures were concerted speedily but with great prudence, and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens rose suddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts, with all their partisans and what troops they could draw together; and several bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to support them. The Spaniards, though surprised and much inferior in number, defended themselves with great courage; but seeing no prospect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their station long in a half-finished

fortress, they soon gave it up. The Sienese, with the utmost alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious structure which had been raised in order to enslave them. At the same time renouncing all connexion with the emperor, they sent ambassadors to thank the king of France as the restorer of their liberty, and to entreat that he would secure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that blessing, by continuing his protection to their republic.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburg excited violent commotions, which disturbed the empire during the year 1553. The imperial chamber issued its decree against him, and required the elector of Saxony, together with several other princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry it into execution. The most powerful princes in Germany formed in consequence a league against Albert, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo. Their armies, which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of 24,000 men, met at Sieverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg; and the violent animosity against each other which possessed the two leaders, did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops, inflamed with the same hostile rage, marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving 4,000 dead on the field, and their camp, baggage, and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear; their best troops suffered greatly,—two sons of the duke of Brunswick, a duke of Lunenburg, and many other persons of distinction, were among the number of the slain. But all these were soon forgotten; for Maurice himself, as he led up to a second charge a body of horse which had



been broken, received a wound with a pistol-bullet, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the sixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

Of all the personages who have appeared in the history of this active age, when great occurrences and sudden revolutions called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them full opportunity to display themselves, Maurice may justly be considered as the most remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound dissimulation, and his unwarrantable usurpation, of his kinsman's honours and dominions, exclude him from being praised as a virtuous man,—his prudence in concerting his measures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform success with which they were attended, entitle him to the appellation of a great prince. At an age when impetuosity of spirit commonly predominates over political wisdom, when the highest effort even of a genius of the first order is to fix on a bold scheme and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy which deceived the most artful monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the emperor had attained to almost unlimited despotism, Maurice, with power seemingly inadequate to such an undertaking, compelled him to relinquish all his usurpations, and established not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on such foundations as have hitherto remained unshaken. Although, at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealousy of the Protestants, and at another drew on him the resentment of the Roman Catholics, such was his masterly address, that he was the only prince of the age who in any degree possessed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the most able as well as faithful guardian of the constitution and laws of his country.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they

had gained. Albert, whose active courage and profuse liberality rendered him the darling of such military adventurers as were little solicitous about the justice of his cause, soon re-assembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies with such success, that he was quickly at the head of 15,000 men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunswick having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a second battle, scarcely less bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not sink, nor were his resources exhausted. He made several efforts, and some of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs ; but being laid under the ban of the empire by the imperial chamber ; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories as well as those which he had usurped ; being forsaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been for a considerable time the terror and scourge of Germany, he lingered out some years in an indigent and dependent state of exile, the miseries of which his restless and arrogant spirit endured with the most indignant impatience. Upon his death without issue, his territories, which had been seized by the princes who took arms against him, were restored, by a decree of the empire, to his collateral heirs of the house of Brandenburg. Maurice's brother Augustus succeeded him in the electoral dignity, which is still possessed by his descendants.

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigour. The emperor, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in the field, and laid siege to Terouane. Though the town was of such importance, that Francis used to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were in bad repair. Henry, trusting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was necessary to render

all the efforts of the enemy abortive than to reinforce the garrison with a considerable number of the young nobility. But D'Essé, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the imperialists pushing the siege with great vigour and perseverance, the place was taken by assault. That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itself to be razed, and the inhabitants to be dispersed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this success, the imperialists immediately invested Hesden, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewise taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword were made prisoners. The emperor intrusted the conduct of this siege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who on that occasion gave the first display of those great talents for military command which soon entitled him to be ranked among the first generals of the age, and facilitated his re-establishment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which, having been overrun by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were still retained by Henry.

The loss of these towns, together with so many persons of distinction either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconsiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very sensibly; but he was still more mortified at the emperor's having recovered his wonted superiority in the field so soon after the blow at Metz, which the French had represented as fatal to his power. He was ashamed, too, of his own remissness and excessive security at the opening of the campaign; and in order to repair that error, he assembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low Countries.

Roused at the approach of such a formidable enemy, Charles left Brussels, where he had been shut up so closely during seven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was so much debilitated by the

gout that he could hardly bear the motion of a litter, he hastened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards those mighty and exasperated rivals, between whom a decisive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impossible for the French to undertake any siege, they retired without having performed any thing suitable to the great preparations which they had made.

The imperial arms were not attended with the same success in Italy. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Cosmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Siena, endeavoured to become master of that city. But instead of reducing the Sienese, the imperialists were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkish fleet, which threatened the coast of Naples; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but, by the assistance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the island of Corsica, subject at that time to the Genoese.

The affairs of the house of Austria declined no less in Hungary during the course of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Transylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants; and their insolence and rapaciousness greatly disgusted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new sovereign, who, instead of protecting, plundered his subjects. Their indignation at this, added to their desire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought so much upon a turbulent nobility impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture their late queen Isabella, together with her son, appeared in Transylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the solitude and inactivity of a private life; and repent-



ing quickly of the cession which she had made of the crown in the year 1551, she left the place of her retreat, hoping that the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Austrian government would prompt them once more to recognise her son's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The bashaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, in opposition to Ferdinand; the Spanish and German soldiers, instead of advancing against the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; so that Castaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks, and to place himself at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might restrain them from plundering the Austrian territories through which they passed.

Ferdinand's attention was turned so entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treasures so much exhausted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover this valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpose presented itself, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Persia, and involved besides in domestic calamities which engrossed and disturbed his mind, his son and grandson having just fallen victims to the jealousy of Roxalana, a Russian captive to whom he was devotedly attached. While these engaged his whole attention, Charles was pursuing with the utmost ardour a new scheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time Edward VI. of England, after a short reign, in which he displayed such virtues as filled his subjects with sanguine hopes of being happy under his government, and made them bear with patience all that they suffered from the weakness, the dissensions, and the ambition, of the ministers who assumed the administration during his minority, was seized with a lingering distemper which threatened his life. The emperor no sooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always atten-

tive to seize every opportunity of acquiring an increase of power or of territories to his son, suggested the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms by the marriage of Philip with the princess Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehensive, however, that his son, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a princess in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himself, Charles determined, notwithstanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himself as a husband to his cousin.

But though Mary was so far advanced in years, and destitute of every charm either of person or manners that could win affection or command esteem, Philip without hesitation gave his consent to the match proposed by his father, and was willing, according to the usual maxim of princes, to sacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to insure the success of his scheme, the emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take such steps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demise, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretensions of the lady Jane Grey proving as unfortunate as they were ill-founded. Charles sent immediately a pompous embassy to London to congratulate Mary on her accession to the throne, and to propose the alliance with his son. The queen listened in the most favourable manner to the proposal. Among her subjects it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal which exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry, and this alarmed all the numerous partisans of the Reformation. The Castilian haughtiness and reserve were far from being acceptable to the English, who having several times seen their throne occupied by persons who were born subjects, had become accustomed to an uncereemonious and familiar intercourse with their sovereigns. They could not think without the utmost uneasiness of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their

councils which the husband of their queen would naturally possess. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the queen's mind dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to assist her in any attempt against them.

Full of these apprehensions, the House of Commons, though in that age extremely obsequious to the will of their monarchs, presented a warm address against the Spanish match; many pamphlets were published, representing the dangerous consequences of the alliance with Spain, and describing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the most odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, paid no regard to the remonstrances of her commons or to the sentiments of the people. The emperor having secured, by various arts, the ministers whom she trusted most, they approved warmly of the match, and large sums were remitted by him in order to gain the rest of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the pope, immediately upon Mary's accession, had despatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the see of Rome, was detained by the emperor's command at Dillinghen in Germany, lest by his presence he should thwart Philip's pretensions, and employ his interest in favour of his kinsman, Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, whom the English ardently wished their sovereign to choose for a husband.

As the negotiation did not admit of delay, it was carried forward with the greatest rapidity, the emperor agreeing, without hesitation, to every article in favour of England which Mary's ministers either represented as necessary to soothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was suggested by their own fears and jealousy of a foreign master.

But this treaty, though both the emperor and Mary's ministers employed their utmost address in

framing it so as to please the English, was far from quieting their fears and jealousies. These sentiments prevailed so generally, that every part of the kingdom was filled with discontent at the match, and with indignation against the advisers of it. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of some note, and of good intentions towards the public, took advantage of this, and roused the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to save their country from a foreign yoke. Great numbers resorted in a short time to his standard; he marched to London with such rapidity, and the queen was so utterly unprovided for defence, that the aspect of affairs was extremely threatening; and if any nobleman of distinction had joined the malcontents, or had Wyatt possessed talents equal in any degree to the boldness of his enterprise, the insurrection must have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all Wyatt's measures were concerted with so little prudence, and executed with such irresolution, that many of his followers forsook him; the rest were dispersed by a handful of soldiers; and he himself was taken prisoner, without having made any effort worthy of the cause that he had undertaken, or suitable to the ardour with which he engaged in it. He suffered the punishment due to his rashness and rebellion. The queen's authority was confirmed and increased by her success in defeating this inconsiderable attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane Grey, whose title the ambition of her relations had set up in opposition to that of the queen, was, notwithstanding her youth and innocence, brought to the scaffold. The lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, was observed with the most jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

Philip landed in England with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great solemnity, and though he could not lay aside his natural severity and pride, or assume gracious and popular manners, he endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the English nobility by his extraordinary liberality. Lest



that should fail of acquiring him such influence in the government of the kingdom as he aimed at obtaining, the emperor kept a body of 12,000 men on the coast of Flanders, in readiness to embark for England, and to support his son in all his enterprises.

Imboldened by all these favourable circumstances, Mary pursued the scheme of extirpating the Protestant religion out of her dominions with the most precipitate zeal. The laws of Edward the Sixth in favour of the Reformation were repealed; the Protestant clergy ejected; all the forms and rites of the popish worship were re-established; the nation was solemnly absolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apostacy, and was publicly reconciled to the church of Rome by cardinal Pole, who, immediately after the queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to exercise his legatine functions with the most ample power. Not satisfied with having overturned the Protestant church, and re-establishing the ancient system on its ruins, Mary insisted that all her subjects should conform to the same mode of worship which she preferred, should profess their faith in the same creed which she had approved, and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers altogether unknown in the English constitution were vested in certain persons appointed to take cognizance of heresy, and they proceeded to exercise them with more than inquisitorial severity. The prospect of danger, however, did not intimidate the principal teachers of the Protestant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmost consequence to the happiness of mankind. They boldly avowed their sentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reserves for its enemies. This shocking punishment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of false zeal alone can

inspire. The English, who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildness of their public executions, beheld with astonishment and horror persons who had filled the most respectable stations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety, and their literature, condemned to endure torments to which their laws did not subject even the most atrocious criminals.

Henry dreaded so much the consequence of this alliance with England, which more than compensated for all the emperor had lost in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low Countries and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to assist the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpose he exerted himself to the utmost in order to have a numerous army early assembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waste the open country of Artois, the main body, under the constable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault by the forest of Ardennes.

The campaign was opened with the siege of Marienburg, a town which the queen of Hungary, the governess of the Low Countries, had fortified at great expense; but being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days. Henry, elated with this success, put himself at the head of his army, and investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The large sums which the emperor had remitted into England had so exhausted his treasury, as to render his preparations, at this juncture, slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to

make head against the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he drew together all the forces in the country in the utmost hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy so far superior in number. The prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a distance, and by choosing his own posts with skill, he put it out of their power either to form any siege of consequence or to attack him. Want of subsistence soon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched, with a cruelty and licence more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch. But Henry, that he might not dismiss his army without attempting some conquest adequate to the great preparations as well as sanguine hopes with which he had opened the campaign, invested Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its situation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incursions into the latter. The town, which was strongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garrison, made a gallant defence; but being warmly pressed by a powerful army, it must soon have yielded. The emperor, who at that time enjoyed a short interval of ease from the gout, was so solicitous to save it, that although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he instantly put himself at the head of his army, which, having received several reinforcements, was now strong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide the fate of Renti by a battle, and expected it from the emperor's arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided a general action with great industry, and as he had nothing in view but to save the town, he hoped to accomplish

that without exposing himself to the consequences of such a dangerous and doubtful event.

Notwithstanding all his precautions, a dispute about a post which both armies endeavoured to seize, brought on an engagement which proved almost general. The duke of Guise, who commanded the wing of the French which stood the brunt of the combat, displayed valour and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the imperialists, after an obstinate struggle, were repulsed; the French remained masters of the post in dispute; and if the constable, either from his natural caution and slowness, or from unwillingness to support a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to second the impression which Guise had made, the rout of the enemy must have been complete. The emperor, notwithstanding the loss which he had sustained, continued in the same camp; and the French being straitened for provisions, and finding it impossible to carry on the siege in the face of a hostile army, quitted their entrenchments. They retired openly, courting the enemy to approach rather than shunning an engagement.

But Charles having gained his end, suffered them to march off unmolested. As soon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garrisons into the frontier towns, and dismissed the rest of the army. This encouraged the imperialists to push forward with a considerable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waste the country with fire and sword, they endeavoured to revenge themselves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois. But as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

The arms of France were still more unsuccessful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Siena occasioned much uneasiness



to Cosmo di Medici, the most sagacious and enterprising of all the Italian princes. He wished with the utmost solicitude for their expulsion before they had time to establish themselves thoroughly in the country, or to receive such reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the emperor's business, who was called by his interest as well as honour to dislodge those formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Cosmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterprise on him; and on that account had given no assistance during the former campaign, but by advancing some small sums of money towards the payment of the imperial troops.

But as the defence of the Netherlands engrossed all the emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treasury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Cosmo plainly perceived, that if he himself did not take part openly in the war and act with vigour, the French would scarcely meet with any annoyance. With this view he despatched an envoy to Charles, offering to declare war against France and to reduce Siena at his own charges, on condition that he should be repaid whatever he might expend in the enterprise, and be permitted to retain all his conquests until his demands were fully satisfied. Charles closed gladly with this overture; and Cosmo, well acquainted with the low state of the imperial finances, flattered himself that the emperor, finding it impossible to reimburse him, would suffer him to keep quiet possession of whatever places he should conquer.

Full of these hopes, he made great preparations for war; and as the French king had turned the strength of his arms against the Netherlands, he did not despair of assembling such a body of men as would prove more than a sufficient match for any force which Henry could bring into the field in Italy

He endeavoured, by giving one of his daughters to the pope's nephew, to obtain assistance from the holy see, or at least to secure his remaining neutral. He attempted to detach the duke of Orsini, whose family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by bestowing on him another of his daughters; and, what was of greater consequence than either of these, he engaged John James Medecino, marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army. This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raised himself through all the ranks of service to high command, and had displayed talents and acquired reputation in war which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greatest generals in that martial age. Having attained a station of eminence so disproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond solicitude to conceal his original obscurity, by giving out that he was descended of the family of Medici, to which honour the casual resemblance of his name was his only pretension. Cosmo, happy that he could gratify him at such an easy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to assume the arms of his family. Medecino, eager to serve the head of that family of which he now considered himself as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and assiduity to raise troops; and as, during his long service, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of those mercenary bands which formed the strength of Italian armies, he engaged the most eminent of them to follow Cosmo's standard.

To oppose this able general and the formidable army which he had assembled, the king of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had resided long in France as an exile, and who had risen by his merit to high reputation as well as command in the army. At first, he attacked several towns in the territory of Florence with such vigour as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progress, to withdraw the

greater part of his army from Siena, which he had invested before Strozzi's arrival in Italy. But the hope of ruining his enemy by one decisive blow precipitated him into a general engagement not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number ; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any resistance, either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained exposed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's presence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himself at the head of the infantry, and manifested an admirable presence of mind as well as extraordinary valour, they stood their ground with great firmness, and repulsed such of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But those gallant troops being surrounded at last on every side, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general rout ensued. Strozzi, faint with the loss of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal consequences of his own rashness, found the utmost difficulty in making his escape with a handful of men.

Medecino returned immediately to the siege of Siena, with his victorious forces ; and as Strozzi could not, after the greatest efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leisure to carry on his approaches against the town without molestation. But the Sienese, instead of sinking into despair upon this cruel disappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, with that undaunted fortitude which the love of liberty alone can inspire. This generous resolution was warmly seconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garrison in the town.

Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to storm the town by open force, ventured twice to assault it by surprise ; but he was received each time with so much spirit, and repulsed with such loss, as discouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

With this view he fortified his own camp with great care, occupied all the posts of strength round the place, and having entirely cut off the besieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until necessity should compel them to open their gates. But their enthusiastic zeal for liberty made the citizens despise the distresses occasioned by the scarcity of provisions, and supported them long under all the miseries of famine : Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his soldiers to vie with them in patience and abstinence ; and it was not until they had withstood a siege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horses, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almost to their last morsel of bread, that they proposed a capitulation. Even then they demanded honourable terms ; and as Cosmo, though no stranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that despair might prompt them to venture upon some wild enterprise, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

The capitulation was made in the emperor's name, who engaged to take the republic of Siena under the protection of the empire ; he promised to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magistrates the full exercise of their former authority, to secure the citizens in the undisturbed possession of their privileges and property ; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had borne arms against him ; he reserved to himself the right of placing a garrison in the town, but engaged not to



rebuild the citadel without the consent of the citizens. Menluc and his French garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

Medecino observed the articles of capitulation, as far as depended on him, with great exactness. No violence or insult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garrison was treated with all the respect due to their spirit and bravery. But many of the citizens suspecting, from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained such favourable conditions, that the emperor as well as Cosmo would take the first opportunity of violating them, and disdaining to possess a precarious liberty which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monte-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other small towns in the territory of the republic. They established in Monte-Alcino the same model of government to which they had been accustomed at Siena, and, appointing magistrates with the same titles and jurisdiction, solaced themselves with this image of their ancient liberty.

The fears of the Sienese concerning the fate of their country were not imaginary, or their suspicion of the emperor and Cosmo ill-founded; for no sooner had the imperial troops taken possession of the town, than Cosmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only displaced the magistrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his own interest, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to persons whom he appointed to receive them. They submitted to the former from necessity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accustomed to liberty feel in obeying the first commands of a master. They did not yield the same tame obedience to the latter; and many persons of distinction, rather than degrade themselves from the rank of freemen to the condition of slaves by surrendering their arms, fled to their countrymen at Monte-Alcino, and chose to endure all the hard-

ships and encounter all the dangers which they had reason to expect in that new station, where they had fixed the seat of their republic.

Cosmo, not reckoning himself secure while such numbers of implacable and desperate enemies were settled in his neighbourhood and retained any degree of power, solicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their strength and spirits after the many calamities which they had suffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the siege of Siena, to invest Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both slight and incomplete, the besieged were soon compelled to open their gates. An unexpected order which Medecino received from the emperor, to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Sienese exiles to reside for some time undisturbed in Monte-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Siena were not yet at the end of their sufferings; for the emperor, instead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his son Philip the investiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new master, proceeded to settle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and subjected them to the Spanish yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or ancient form of government.

The imperial army in Piedmont had been so feeble for some time, and its commander so inactive, that the emperor, in order to give vigour to his operations in that quarter, found it necessary not only to recall Medecino's troops from Tuscany while in the career of conquest, but to employ in Piedmont a general of such reputation and abilities as might counterbalance the great military talents of the mareschal Brissac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country. He pitched on the duke of Alva for that

purpose, who took possession of his new dignity with almost unlimited authority.

Brissac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the imperialists, was composed of chosen troops, which, having grown old in service in that country, where every town was fortified and every castle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour and his own good conduct, Brissac not only defeated all the attempts of the imperialists, but added new conquests to the territories of which he was formerly master. Alva, after having boasted with his usual arrogance that he would drive the French out of Piedmont in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into winter-quarters, with the mortification of being unable to preserve entire that part of the country of which the emperor had hitherto kept possession.

During the siege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city, had insinuated himself far into the esteem and favour of the duke of Guise, by his attachment to the French. Being a man of an active and intriguing spirit, he had been extremely useful both in animating the inhabitants to sustain with patience all the hardships of the siege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemy's designs and motions. The merit of those important services, together with the warm recommendations of the duke of Guise, secured him such high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz when Guise left the town, that he was permitted to converse or correspond with whatever persons he thought fit, and nothing that he did created any suspicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from resentment against the French, who had not bestowed on him such rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accomplish any scheme with

perfect security, formed a design of betraying Metz to the imperialists.

He communicated his intentions to the queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low Countries in the name of her brother. She approving, without any scruple, any act of treachery from which the emperor might derive such signal advantage, assisted the father guardian in concerting the most proper plan for insuring its success. They agreed that the father guardian should endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville should march towards Metz in the night with a considerable body of troops, and attempt to scale the ramparts; that while the garrison was employed in resisting the assailants, the monks should set fire to the town in different places; that the soldiers who lay concealed should sally out of the convent, and attack those who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidst the universal terror and confusion which events so unexpected would occasion, it was not doubted but that the imperialists might become masters of the town. As a recompence for this service, the father guardian stipulated that he should be appointed bishop of Metz; and ample rewards were promised to such of his monks as should be most active in co-operating with him.

The father guardian accomplished what he had undertaken to perform with great secrecy and despatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the prospect of wealth and honours which he set before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conspiracy. He introduced into the convent, without being suspected, as many soldiers as were thought sufficient. The governor of Thionville, apprized in due time of the design, had assembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and



the moment approached which probably would have wrested from Henry the most important of all his conquests.

But, happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for striking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a spy whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciscan friars resorted frequently thither, and were admitted to many private conferences with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for some military enterprise with great despatch, but with a most mysterious secrecy. This was sufficient to awaken Vielleville's suspicions. Without communicating these to any person, he instantly visited the convent of Franciscans; detected the soldiers who were concealed there; and forced them to discover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterprise. The father guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the last hand to his machinations, was seized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to save himself from the rack, revealed all the circumstances of the conspiracy.

Vielleville, not satisfied with having seized the traitors and having frustrated their schemes, was solicitous to take advantage of the discoveries which he had made, so as to be revenged on the imperialists. For this purpose he marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and placing these in ambush near the road by which the father guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the imperialists with great fury, as they advanced in perfect security, without suspecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this sudden attack by an enemy whom they expected to surprise, they made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among whom were many persons of distinction, were killed or taken prisoners. Before next morning Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

No resolution was taken for some time concerning the fate of the father guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conspiracy. But at length orders were issued to proceed to their trial. The guilt was made apparent by the clearest evidence; and sentence of death was passed upon the father guardian, together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the jailor took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined separately, and shut them all up in one great room, that they might confess their sins one to another, and join together in preparing for a future state. But as soon as they were left alone, instead of employing themselves in the religious exercises suitable to their condition, they began to reproach the father guardian and four of the senior monks who had been most active in seducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought such misery on them and such disgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curses and execrations, and at last, in a frenzy of rage and despair, they fell upon them with such violence, that they murdered the father guardian on the spot, and so disabled the other four, that it became necessary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the father guardian, to the place of execution. Six of the youngest were pardoned, the rest suffered the punishment which their crime merited.

Though both parties, exhausted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languishing manner, neither of them shewed any disposition to listen to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole, indeed, laboured with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity to re-establish concord among the princes of Christendom. He had not only persuaded his mistress, the queen of England, to enter warmly into his sentiments, and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the emperor and

king of France to send their plenipotentiaries to a village between Gravelines and Ardres. He himself, together with Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, repaired thither in order to preside as mediators in the conferences which were to be held for adjusting all the points in difference. But though each of the monarchs committed this negotiation to some of their ministers in whom they placed the greatest confidence, it was soon evident that they came together with no sincere desire of accommodation. Each proposed articles so extravagant, that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting in vain all his zeal and address in order to persuade them to relinquish such extravagant demands, and to consent to the substitution of more equal conditions, became sensible of the folly of wasting time in attempting to re-establish concord between those whom their obstinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference, and returned to England.

During these transactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed such profound tranquillity as afforded the diet full leisure to deliberate, and to establish proper regulations concerning a point of the greatest consequence to the internal peace of the empire. By the treaty of Passau, in 1552, it had been referred to the next diet of the empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification which was there agreed upon. The terror and confusion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg had filled Germany, as well as the constant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been summoned, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, to meet at Augsburg.

But as a diet was now necessary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of the year 1555 had repaired to Augsburg. Though few of the princes were present either in person or by their deputies

he opened the assembly by a speech, in which he proposed a termination of the dissensions to which the new tenets and controversies with regard to religion had given rise, not only as the first and great business of the diet, but as the point which both the emperor and he had most at heart. This speech being printed in common form and dispersed over the empire, revived the fears and jealousies of the Protestants; and the arrival of the cardinal Moroné, whom the pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, completed their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that some dangerous machination was forming against the peace or safety of the Protestant church. But the death of Julius happening about this time, caused him to set out abruptly from Augsburg, where he had resided only a few days, that he might be present at the election of a new pontiff.

One cause of their suspicions and fears being thus removed, the Protestants soon became sensible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, however specious, were ill-founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favourable to them in the treaty of Passau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his schemes in the empire, and overturned the great system of religious and civil despotism which he had almost established there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to pursue whatever measures he judged most salutary and expedient. Ferdinand, less ambitious and enterprising than the emperor, instead of resuming a plan which he, with power and resources so far superior, had failed of accomplishing, endeavoured to attach the princes of the empire to his family by an administration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at present, particular attention, because his situation at this juncture rendered it necessary to court their favour and support with more than usual assiduity.



As soon as the publication of Ferdinand's speech awakened the fears and suspicions which have been mentioned, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the landgrave of Hesse, met at Naumburg; and confirming the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to adhere to the confession of Augsburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their respective dominions.

Ferdinand, influenced by all these considerations, employed his utmost address in conducting the deliberations of the diet, so as not to excite the jealousy of a party on whose friendship he depended, and whose enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had so much reason to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's proposal of taking the state of religion into consideration previous to any other business. But as soon as they entered upon it, both parties discovered all the zeal and animosity which a subject so interesting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controversy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the highest pitch. Ferdinand, however, by his address and perseverance; by softening some things on each side; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by representing incessantly the necessity as well as the advantages of concord; and by threatening on some occasions, when all other considerations were disregarded, to dissolve the diet, brought them at length to a conclusion in which they all agreed.

Conformably to this, a recess was framed, approved of, and published with the usual formalities. The following are the chief articles which it contained:— That such princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the confession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorizes, without interrupti n or

molestation from the emperor, the king of the Romans, or any power or person whatsoever; that the Protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the princes and states who adhere to the tenets and rites of the church of Rome; that, for the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences but by the gentle and pacific methods of persuasion and conference; that the popish ecclesiastics shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as receive the confession of Augsburg; that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the church previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no persecution in the imperial chamber on that account; that the supreme civil power in every state shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects whithersoever they shall please; that if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system.

The recess of Augsburg was nothing more than a scheme of pacification which political considerations alone had suggested to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and safety had rendered necessary. Of this there can be no stronger proof than an article in the recess itself, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the Catholics on the one side, and to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in consequence of that exclusion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal security

until the treaty of Westphalia, near a century after this period, provided that they should be admitted to enjoy, in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the recess of Augsburg affords.

During the sitting of the diet, Marcellus Cervino, cardinal of Santo Croce, was elected pope in room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the papal chair. As he equalled that pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and still more in knowledge of the state and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to discern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear, such regulations were expected from his virtue and wisdom as would have removed many of its grossest and most flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church such as, from indignation at these enormities, had abandoned its communion. But this excellent pontiff was only shewn to the church, and immediately snatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his accession, together with too intense and anxious application of mind to the schemes of improvement which he meditated, exhausted so entirely the vigour of his feeble constitution, that he sickened on the twelfth and died on the twentieth day after his election.

All the refinements in artifice and intrigue peculiar to conclaves were displayed in that which was held for electing a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the imperial and French factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But after a struggle of no long duration, though conducted with all the warmth and eagerness natural to men contending for so great an object, they united in choosing John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the sacred college, and the son of count Montorio,

a nobleman of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The address and influence of cardinal Farnese, who favoured his pretensions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which soothed all the disappointed candidates with the near prospect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this speedy union of suffrages. In order to testify his respect for the memory of Paul III., by whom he had been created cardinal, as well as his gratitude to the family of Farnese, he assumed the name of Paul IV.

At his first entrance upon the administration, he laid aside that austerity which had hitherto distinguished his person and family, and when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would choose to live, he haughtily replied, 'As becomes a great prince.' He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than usual pomp; and endeavoured to render himself popular by several acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome.

Immediately after his election he called to Rome two of his nephews, the sons of his brother the count Montorio. The eldest he promoted to be governor of Rome. The youngest, who had hitherto served as a soldier of fortune in the armies of Spain or France, and whose disposition as well as manners were still more foreign from the clerical character than his profession, he created a cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the second office in power and dignity which a pope can bestow. These marks of favour, no less sudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the most unbounded confidence and attachment; and forgetting all his former severe maxims, he seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizing of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for Paul, was too aspiring to be satisfied with any moderate acquisition. They had seen the family of Medici raised by the interest of the popes of that house to supreme power in Tuscany; Paul



III. had, by his abilities and address, secured the duchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farnese. They aimed at some establishment for themselves, no less considerable and independent; and as they could not expect that the pope would carry his indulgence towards them so far as to secularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no prospect of attaining what they wished but by dismembering the imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of seizing some portion of them. This alone they would have deemed a sufficient reason for sowing the seeds of discord between their uncle and the emperor.

But cardinal Caraffa had, besides, private reasons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the emperor. While he served in the Spanish troops he had not received such marks of honour and distinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Disgusted with this ill usage, he had abruptly quitted the imperial service; and entering into that of France, he had not only met with such a reception as soothed his vanity and attached him to the French interest, but by contracting an intimate friendship with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuscany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the emperor, as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian states. Nor was the pope himself indisposed to receive impressions unfavourable to the emperor. The opposition given to his election by the cardinals of the imperial faction left in his mind deep resentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his ministers.

Of this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices in order to exasperate him beyond a possibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumstance which could be deemed any indication of the emperor's dissatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter, in which Charles taxed the cardinals of his party with negli-

gence or incapacity in not having defeated Paul's election; they pretended, at one time, to have discovered a conspiracy formed by the imperial minister and Cosmo di Medici against the pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for assassinating themselves. By these artifices they kept his mind, which was naturally violent and become suspicious from old age, in such perpetual agitation as precipitated him into measures which otherwise he would have been the first person to condemn. He seized some of the cardinals who were most attached to the emperor, and confined them in the castle of St. Angelo; he persecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the imperial faction, with the utmost severity; and discovering on all occasions his distrust, fear, or hatred of the emperor, he began at last to court the friendship of the French king, and seemed willing to throw himself absolutely upon him for support and protection.

This was the very point to which his nephews wished to bring him as most favourable to their ambitious schemes; and as the accomplishment of these depended on their uncle's life, whose advanced age did not admit of losing a moment unnecessarily in negotiations, instead of treating at second-hand with the French ambassador at Rome, they prevailed on the pope to despatch a person of confidence directly to the court of France, with such overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between Henry and the pope; that they should attack the duchy of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of the French king's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent

and princely establishment for each of the pope's nephews.

The king, allured by these specious projects, gave a most favorable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was proposed in council, the constable Montmorency, whose natural caution and aversion to daring enterprises increased with age and experience, remonstrated with great vehemence against the alliance. His arguments, weighty in themselves, and urged by a minister of great authority, would probably have determined the king to decline any connexion with the pope. But the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, who delighted no less in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency shunned them, declared warmly for an alliance with the pope, and prevailed on an inconsiderate prince to listen to the overtures of the pope's envoy.

The cardinal of Lorraine, as he had expected, was immediately sent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert measures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach the city, the pope had not only begun to lose much of the ardour with which he had commenced the negotiation with France, but even discovered great unwillingness to continue it. But having received advice of the recess of the diet of Augsburg, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Protestants, his mind was wrought up to such a pitch of resentment against the emperor and king of the Romans, that the cardinal of Lorraine easily persuaded him to sign a treaty which had for its object the ruin of a prince against whom he was so highly exasperated. The stipulations in the treaty were much the same as had been proposed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret, until their united forces should be ready to take the field.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which seemed to

render the fears that had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude. Though Charles had revolved this scheme in his mind for several years, various circumstances had prevented his carrying it into effect.

But he was now fully resolved to resign his kingdoms to his son, with a solemnity suitable to the importance of the transaction, and to perform this last act of sovereignty with such formal pomp as might leave a lasting impression on the minds not only of his subjects but of his successor. With this view, therefore, he called Philip out of England. Having assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels on the 25th of October, Charles seated himself for the last time in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a splendid retinue of the princes of the empire and grandees of Spain standing behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in few words his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the states. He then read the instrument of resignation, by which Charles surrendered to his son Philip all his territories, jurisdiction, and authority in the Low Countries, absolving his subjects there from the oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip, his lawful heir, and to serve him with the same loyalty and zeal which they had manifested, during so long a course of years, in support of his government.

Charles then rose from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed



himself to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration. Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand,—‘ If,’ says he, ‘ I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account ; but now, when I voluntarily resign to you what I might have still retained, I may well expect the warmest expression of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense, and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I, this day, give of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion ; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity ; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes ; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people ; and if the time should ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities, that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you.’

Then Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, resigned the regency, with which she had been intrusted by her brother, during the space of twenty-five years. Next day, Philip, in presence of the states, took the usual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his subjects ; and all the members in their own name, and in that of their constituents, swore allegiance to him.

A few weeks after this transaction, Charles, in an assembly no less splendid, and with a ceremonial

equally pompous, resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. Of all these vast possessions he reserved nothing for himself but an annual pension of 100,000 crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity.

He had the satisfaction before he left the Low Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France, which he ardently wished for, not only on his son's account, but that he might have the merit, when quitting the world, of re-establishing that tranquillity in Europe which he had banished out of it almost from the time that he assumed the administration of affairs. Previous to his resignation, commissioners had been appointed by him and by the French king in order to treat of an exchange of prisoners. In their conferences at the abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally proposed for terminating hostilities between the contending monarchs by a long truce, during the subsistence of which, and without discussing their respective claims, each should retain what was now in his possession. Charles declared warmly for closing with the overture, though manifestly dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; and such was the respect due to his wisdom and experience, that Philip, notwithstanding his unwillingness to purchase peace by such concessions, did not presume to urge his opinion in opposition to that of his father.

Henry could not have hesitated one moment about giving his consent. But it was no easy matter to reconcile such a step with the engagements which he had come under to the pope in his late treaty with him. He, however, authorized his ambassadors to sign a treaty of truce with the emperor for five years on the terms which had been proposed. But that he might not seem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who he foresaw would be highly

exasperated, he, in order to soothe him, took care that he should be expressly included in the truce.

The sudden and unexpected conclusion of the truce filled Paul with astonishment and terror, though he affected to approve highly of it as a happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. He expressed his warmest wishes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of setting on foot a negotiation for that purpose, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext he appointed cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public instructions given to both were the same; that they should use their utmost endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-established, and measures might be taken for assembling a general council. But under this specious appearance of zeal for attaining objects so desirable in themselves, and so becoming his sacred character to pursue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, besides his public instructions, received a private commission to solicit the French king to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy see; and he was empowered to spare neither entreaties, nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy; while the other served to amuse the vulgar or to deceive the emperor and his son. The cardinal accordingly set out instantly for Paris, and travelled with the greatest expedition, while Rebiba was detained some weeks at Rome; and when it became necessary for him to begin his journey, he received secret orders to protract it as much as possible, that the issue of Caraffa's negotiation might be known before he should reach Brussels, and, according to

that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he should assume in treating with the emperor and his son.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry as the protector on whose aid the pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. Every word Caraffa spoke made a deep impression on Henry, and he was ultimately prevailed upon to sign a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries.

As soon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair prospect of his succeeding in this negotiation, he despatched a messenger after the nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome without proceeding to Brussels. He seized and imprisoned the Spanish envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonnas; and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliano, he granted that dignity, together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the count Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be presented in the consistory of cardinals against Philip, setting forth that he had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to the Colonnas, whom the pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furnished them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the ecclesiastical state in a hostile manner; that such conduct in a vassal was to be deemed treason against his liege lord, the punishment of which was the forfeiture of his fief. Upon this, the consistorial advocate requested the pope to take cognizance of the cause, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his justice that sentence which the heinousness of Philip's crimes merited. Paul,



whose pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and passing judgment on so great a king, assented to his request; and as if it had been no less easy to execute than to pronounce such a sentence, declared that he would consult with the cardinals concerning the formalities requisite in conducting the trial.

Philip had been taught by the Spanish ecclesiastics, who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the holy see, and hesitated for some time with respect to the lawfulness of taking arms against the vice-gerent of Christ. At last the duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his master's scruples, had continued to negotiate long after he should have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of hesitation on his part, increased the pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field and entered the ecclesiastical territories. His army did not exceed 12,000 men, but it was composed of veteran soldiers, and commanded chiefly by those Roman barons whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, together with the animosity of their leaders, who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own estates, supplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva soon became master of the *Campagna Romana*; some cities being surrendered through the cowardice of the garrisons, which consisted of raw soldiers, ill disciplined and worse commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient masters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in seizing the patrimony of the church, took possession of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the pope that should be chosen to succeed Paul, he declared that he would immediately restore them.

The rapid progress of the Spaniards, whose light troops made excursions even to the gates of Rome

filled that city with consternation. Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himself, was obliged to give way so far to the fears and solicitations of the cardinals, as to send deputies to Alva, in order to propose a cessation of arms, and a truce was accordingly concluded first for ten, and afterwards for forty days, during which, various schemes of peace were proposed, and perpetual negotiations were carried on, but with no sincerity on the part of the pope. The return of his nephew the cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a considerable sum remitted by the king of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and banished all thoughts from his mind but those of war and revenge.

## BOOK XII.

WHILE these operations or intrigues kept the pope and Philip busy and attentive, the emperor disentangled himself finally from all the affairs of this world, and set out for the place of his retreat. The preparations for his voyage having been made for some time, he set out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet which was to convoy him had orders to assemble. His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived at Laredo in Biscay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As soon as he landed he fell prostrate on the ground; and considering himself now as dead to the world, he kissed the earth, and said, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind.' From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, where having dismissed a great number of his domestics, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a last and tender leave of his two sisters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his solitude, though they requested him with tears,

not only that they might have the consolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to soothe his sufferings, but that they might reap instruction and benefit by joining with him in those pious exercises, to which he had consecrated the remainder of his days.

From Valladolid he continued his journey to Plazencia in Estremadura. He had passed through this place a great many years before, and having been struck at that time with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants, that this was a spot to which Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees; from the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation he had sent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monastery, for his accommodation; but he gave strict orders that the style of the building should be such as suited his present station, rather than his former dignity. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of friars' cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground; with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other side they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles

enter with twelve domestics only. He buried there, in solitude and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects, which, during almost half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subdued by his power.

The duke of Guise was intrusted with the command of the army appointed to march to the pope's assistance. It consisted of 20,000 men of the best troops in the service of France. So high was the duke's reputation, and such the general expectation of beholding some extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a war into which he had precipitated his country, chiefly with the design of obtaining a field where he might display his own talents, that many of the French nobility, who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army passed the Alps in an inclement season, and advanced towards Rome without any opposition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not strong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces into one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

But when the duke of Guise entered Rome, he found none of the preparations for war in such forwardness as he had expected. The papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota stipulated: no magazines sufficient for their subsistence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their state had first led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their resolution to preserve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of princes, so far superior to themselves in power. The other Italian states were either openly united in league with Philip, or secretly wished success to his arms



against a pontiff, whose inconsiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the seat of war.

The duke of Guise, however, marched towards Naples, and began his operations. He opened the campaign with the siege of Civitella, a town of some importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obstinacy with which the Spanish governor defended it baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged the duke of Guise, after a siege of three weeks, to retire from the town with disgrace. He endeavoured to wipe off that stain, by advancing boldly towards the duke of Alva's camp, and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, sensible of all the advantages of standing on the defensive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement, and kept within his intrenchment; and, adhering to his plan with the steadiness of a Castilian, eluded with great address all the duke of Guise's stratagems to draw him into action. By this time sickness began to waste the French army; violent dissensions had arisen between the duke of Guise and the commander of the pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incursions into the ecclesiastical state; the pope murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guise, mortified to the last degree with having acted such an inglorious part, not only solicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recall him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on cardinal Caraffa, sometimes with reproaches, sometimes with threats, to make good those magnificent promises, from a rash confidence in which he had advised his master to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the pope.

But while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched situation, an unexpected event happened in the Low Countries which called the duke of Guise from a station wherein he could acquire no honour, to the most dignified and important charge which could be committed to a subject. As soon as the

French had discovered their purpose of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by sending an army into Italy, but by attempting to surprise some of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to prosecute the war with such spirit, as should make his enemies sensible that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be so capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expense in fitting out the army under the duke of Guise, and that his treasury was hardly able to answer the exorbitant and endless demands of a distant war, he foresaw that all his operations in the Low Countries must, of consequence, prove feeble, and be considered only as secondary to those in Italy. For that reason, he prudently resolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakest, and to bend his chief force against that quarter where they would feel a blow most sensibly. With this view, he assembled in the Low Countries an army of about 50,000 men, the Flemings serving him on this occasion with that active zeal which subjects are wont to exert in obeying the first commands of a new sovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at this early period of life, did not rest all his hopes of success on that formidable force alone.

He had been labouring for some time to engage the English to espouse his quarrel, and for that purpose set out for England. The queen entered warmly into all his schemes, and notwithstanding considerable opposition from her privy council, war was declared against France, the only one perhaps against that kingdom into which the English ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the aversion of the nation to this measure, she durst not call a parliament in order to raise money for carrying on the war. She supplied this want, however, by a stretch of royal prerogative, not unusual in that age;

and levied large sums on her subjects by her own authority. This enabled her to assemble a sufficient body of troops, and to send 8,000 men under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, to join Philip's army.

Philip gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own residence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earliest intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his counsels. The duke opened the campaign with a masterly stroke of address, which justified Philip's choice, and discovered such a superiority of genius over the French generals, as almost insured success in his subsequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place considerably distant from the country which he destined to be the scene of action; and having kept the enemy in suspense for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at last deceived them so effectually by the variety of his marches and counter-marches, as led them to conclude that he meant to bend all his force against the province of Champagne, and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that side. In consequence of this opinion they drew all their strength towards that quarter, and reinforcing the garrison there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier destitute of troops sufficient to defend them.

The duke of Savoy, as soon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned suddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and sending his cavalry, in which he was extremely strong, before him, invested St. Quintin. This was a town deemed in that age of considerable strength and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected; the garrison, weakened by draughts sent towards Champagne, did not amount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence; and the governor,

though a brave officer, was neither of rank nor authority equal to the command in a place of so much consequence, besieged by such a formidable army. A few days must have put the duke of Savoy in possession of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt saving a place of such importance to his country, and which lay within his jurisdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it, with such a body of men as he could collect on a sudden. This resolution he executed with great intrepidity, and if the nature of the enterprise be considered, with no contemptible success; for though one half of his small body of troops was cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the desponding garrison with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest, for annoying the enemy or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens, as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardour, seemed to be determined that they would hold out to the last, and sacrifice themselves in order to save their country.

The duke of Savoy, whom the English under the earl of Pembroke joined about this time, pushed on the siege with the greatest vigour. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle the constable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his situation, and pointed out to him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The constable resolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he desired. With this view, he marched from La Fere towards St. Quintin at the head of his army, which was not by one half so numerous as that of the enemy, and having given



the command of a body of chosen men to Coligny's brother Dandelot, who was colonel-general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had represented as most practicable, while he himself, with the main army, would give the alarm to the enemy's camp on the opposite side, and endeavour to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. He rushed on with such headlong impetuosity, that, though it broke the first body of the enemy which stood in his way, it threw his own soldiers into the utmost confusion; and as they were attacked in that situation by fresh troops which closed in upon them on every side, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about 500 of the most adventurous and most fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

Meanwhile the constable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced so near the camp of the besiegers, as rendered it impossible to retreat with safety in the face of an enemy so much superior in number. The duke of Savoy instantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the presence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himself of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greatest expedition; and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry, under the command of the count of Egmont, to fall on their rear, while he himself, at the head of his infantry, advanced to support him. The French retired at first in perfect order, and with a good countenance: but when they saw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the shock of which they were conscious that they could not withstand, the prospect of imminent danger, added to distrust of their general, whose imprudence every soldier now perceived, struck them with general consternation. They began insensibly to quicken their pace, and

those in the rear pressed so violently on such as were before them, that in a short time their march resembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, observing their confusion, charged them with the greatest fury, and in a moment all their men-at-arms, the pride and strength of the French troops in that age, gave way, and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the constable, by his presence and authority, kept to their colours, still continued to retreat in good order, until the enemy brought some pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into such confusion, that the Flemish cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became universal. About 4,000 of the French fell in the field, and among these the duke of Enghien, a prince of the blood, together with 600 gentlemen. The constable, as soon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, with a resolution not to survive the calamity which his ill-conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being wasted with the loss of blood, he was surrounded by some Flemish officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the soldiers, and obliged him to surrender. Besides the constable, the dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the mareschal of St. André, many officers of distinction, 300 gentlemen, and near 4,000 private soldiers, were taken prisoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon, two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not lose above fourscore men.

Philip, immediately after the battle, visited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and such were his transports of joy on account of an event which threw so much lustre on the beginning of his reign, that they softened his severe and haughty temper into an unusual flow of courtesy. When the duke

of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, 'It becomes me,' says he, 'rather to kiss your hands, which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory.'

As soon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held, in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the best advantage. The duke of Savoy, seconded by several of the ablest officers formed under Charles V., insisted that they should immediately relinquish the siege of St. Quintin; but Philip advised its continuance, and his generals acquiesced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being masters of the town in a few days, a loss of time of so little consequence in the execution of their plan, that they might easily repair it by their subsequent activity. But such were the perseverance and skill with which Coligny conducted the defence, and such the fortitude as well as patience with which he animated the garrison, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the English, carried on the attack with all the ardour which national emulation inspires, he held out the town seventeen days. He was taken prisoner, at last, on the breach, overpowered by the superior number of the enemy.

Henry availed himself, with the utmost activity, of the interval which the admiral's well-timed obstinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers to collect the scattered remains of the constable's army; he issued orders for levying soldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces instantly to take the field, and to join the duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which served under the mareschal Brissac at Piedmont; he sent courier after courier to the duke of Guise, requiring him, together with all his army, to return instantly for the defence of their country;

he despatched one envoy to the grand seignior, to solicit the assistance of his fleet, and a loan of a sum of money ; he sent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that, by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which served under Philip. These efforts of the king were warmly seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of 300,000 livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of distinction engaged, at their own expense, to garrison and defend the towns which lay most exposed to the enemy. Nor was the general concern for the public confined to corporate bodies alone, or to those in the higher sphere of life, but diffusing itself among persons of every rank, each individual seemed disposed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the king, and the safety of the state, had depended solely on his single efforts.

Philip perceived, when it was too late, that he had lost an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a scheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper ; and employed his army during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these he soon became master ; and the reduction of two such petty towns, together with the acquisition of St. Quintin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the most decisive victories gained in that century. Philip himself, however, continued in high exultation on account of his success ; and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he, in memory of the battle of St. Quintin, which had been fought on the day consecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of that saint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year



he laid the foundation of an edifice in which all these were united, at the Escorial in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and the same principle which dictated the vow directed the building; for the plan of the work was so formed as to resemble a grid-iron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the instrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithstanding the great and expensive schemes in which his restless ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with such perseverance for twenty-two years, and reserved such large sums for this monument of his devotion and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal residence, which, though not the most elegant, is certainly the most sumptuous and magnificent, of any in Europe.

The first account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recall the duke of Guise. As Paul, even with the assistance of his French auxiliaries, had hardly been able to check the progress of the Spanish arms, he foresaw that, as soon as he was deprived of their protection, his territories must be overrun in a moment. He remonstrated, therefore, with the greatest violence against the departure of the French army, reproaching the duke of Guise for his ill conduct, which had brought him into such an unhappy situation; and complaining of the king for deserting him so ungenerously under such circumstances. The duke of Guise's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo di Medici, in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the pope, and who, even while success crowned his arms, doubted so much the justice of his own cause, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, listened eagerly to the first proposals

of this nature from Paul, and discovered such moderation in his demands as could hardly have been expected from a prince elated with victory.

The duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally disposed to peace, they, after a short conference, terminated the war by a treaty. Thus Paul, through Philip's scrupulous timidity, finished an unprosperous war without any detriment to the papal see. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquished retained his usual haughtiness, and was treated with every mark of superiority. The duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and, in the posture of a suppliant, kissed the feet, and implored the forgiveness, of that very person whom his arms had reduced to the last extremity. Such was the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudest man of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with princes, acknowledged that, when he approached the pope, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him.

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it had produced during its progress effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely solicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as speedily as possible, he was willing to make any sacrifice in order to gain those princes who, by joining their troops to the papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and in order to seduce him from his alliance with France, he restored to him the city of Placentia, with the territory depending on it, which

Charles V. had seized in the year 1547, had kept from that time in his possession, and had transmitted, together with his other dominions, to Philip.

This step made such a discovery of Philip's character and views to Cosmo di Medici, the most sagacious as well as provident of all the Italian princes, that he conceived hopes of accomplishing his favourite scheme of adding Siena and its territories to his dominions in Tuscany. He began with soliciting Philip to repay the great sums which he had advanced to the emperor during the siege of Siena. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to satisfy, Cosmo affected to offer his services to Paul. In order to prevent the pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who, by his abilities, as well as the situation of his dominions, would have added both reputation and strength to their confederacy, Philip offered to grant Cosmo the investiture of Siena, if he would consent to accept of it as an equivalent for the sums due to him, and engage to furnish a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, against any power who should attack them. As soon as Cosmo had brought Philip to make this concession, he closed eagerly with the proposal; and Philip, in spite of the remonstrances of his ablest counsellors, signed a treaty with him to that effect.

The duke of Guise left Rome on the same day that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope, and was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. He ordered all the troops which could be got together to assemble at Compeigne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had set in with extreme severity, he placed himself at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his subjects, so many soldiers had been raised in the kingdom, and such considerable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Switzerland, as

formed an army respectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at seeing it put in motion at such an uncommon season, began to tremble for his new conquests, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

But the duke of Guise meditated a more important enterprise; and after amusing the enemy with threatening successively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned suddenly to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army. Calais had been taken by the English under Edward III., and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Crecy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an easy and secure passage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping possession of it soothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its situation was naturally so strong, and its fortifications deemed so impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous soever, had been bold enough to attack it. Mary and her council, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, unacquainted with military affairs, had not only neglected to take any precautions for the safety of this important place, but seemed to think that the reputation of its strength was alone sufficient for its security. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low state of the queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter, and the marshes around it became impassable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded, it had been the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring.

His knowledge of this encouraged the duke of



Guise to venture on an enterprise, that surprised his own countrymen no less than his enemies. As he knew that its success depended on conducting his operations with such rapidity as would afford the English no time for throwing relief into the town by sea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he pushed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on sieges during that age. He drove the English from fort St. Agatha at the first assault. He obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge, after defending it only three days. He took the castle which commanded the harbour by storm; and, on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender; as his feeble garrison, which did not exceed 500 men, was worn out with the fatigue of sustaining so many attacks, and defending such extensive works.

The duke of Guise, without allowing the English time to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guisnes, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigour, and, after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

The king of France imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III., with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town; and giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under an experienced governor, for their defence. After this, his victorious army was conducted into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

During these various operations, Ferdinand assembled the college of electors at Francfort, in order to lay before them the instrument whereby Charles V. had resigned the imperial crown, and transferred it

to him. This he had hitherto delayed on account of some difficulties which had occurred, concerning the formalities requisite in supplying a vacancy occasioned by an event to which there was no parallel in the annals of the empire. These being at length adjusted, the prince of Orange executed the commission with which he had been intrusted by Charles; the electors accepted of his resignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful successor; and put him in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity.

But when the new emperor sent Gusman, his chancellor, to acquaint the pope with this transaction, Paul refused to admit the envoy into his presence, and declared all the proceedings at Francfort irregular and invalid: and though Philip seconded the application, he remained inflexible, and, during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as emperor by the court of Rome.

While Henry was intent upon his preparations for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the issue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at last taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the solicitation of the French ambassador, nor the address and authority of the queen regent, could prevail on them to take arms against a kingdom with which they were at peace. But though the Scots adhered with steadiness to their pacific system, they were extremely ready to gratify the French king in another particular, which he had given in charge to his ambassador.

The young queen of Scots had been affianced to the dauphin in the year 1548, and having been educated since that time in the court of France, she had grown up to be the most amiable and one of the most accomplished princesses of that age. Henry demanded the consent of her subjects to the celebration of the marriage; and a parliament, which was held for that purpose, appointed eight commis-

sioners to represent the whole body of the nation at that solemnity, with power to sign such deeds as might be requisite before it was concluded. In settling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate, in order to preserve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French used every art to secure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during the queen's life, and the succession of the crown on the event of her demise. The marriage was celebrated with pomp suitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the most splendid in Europe.

When the campaign opened, soon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guise was placed at the head of the army, with the same unlimited power as formerly. Henry had received such liberal supplies from his subjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well-appointed; while Philip, exhausted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to dismiss so many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head against the enemy. The duke of Guise did not lose the favourable opportunity which his superiority afforded him. He invested Thionville in the duchy of Luxemburg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourhood to Metz; and notwithstanding the obstinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks.

But the success of this enterprise, which it was expected would lead to other conquests, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low Countries. The mareschal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without opposition, invested Dunkirk with an army of 14,000 men, and took it by storm on the fifth day of the siege. Hence he advanced

towards Nieuport, which must have soon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the count of Egmont with a superior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were so much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved slowly ; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with such rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmost impetuosity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having posted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the sea, received him with great firmness. Victory remained for some time in suspense, the desperate valour of the French, who foresaw the unavoidable destruction that must follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalancing the superior number of the Flemings, when one of those accidents to which human prudence does not extend, decided the contest in favour of the latter. A squadron of English ships of war, which was cruising on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns against the right wing of the French, with such effect, as immediately broke that body and spread terror and confusion through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom assistance so unexpected and so seasonable gave fresh spirit, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lose the advantage which fortune had presented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their consternation, and the rout of the French soon became universal. Near 2,000 were killed on the spot ; a greater number fell by the hands of the peasants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with which their country had been plundered, pursued the fugitives, and massacred them without mercy ; the rest were taken prisoners, together with de Termes, their general, and many officers of distinction.



This signal victory, for which the count of Egmont was afterwards ill requited by Philip, obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all other schemes, and to hasten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppose the progress of the enemy in that province. This disaster, however, reflected new lustre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whose arms victory always attended, and in whose conduct as well as good fortune they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced the duke of Guise's army with so many troops drawn from the adjacent garrisons, that it soon amounted to 40,000 men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his respective army, it was expected, after the vicissitudes of good and bad success during this and the former campaign, that a decisive battle would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future and give law to Europe.

But while the armies continued in this position, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an inclination to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. Both parties at length nominated plenipotentiaries to treat respecting it; the abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congress; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a suspension of arms.

While these preliminary steps were taking towards a treaty which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V., whose ambition had so long disturbed it, ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed such a plan of life for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his domestics few; his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumber-

some and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted, in order to soothe the remainder of his days. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned.

Charles constantly reserved a considerable portion of his time for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard; and conversed much with his confessor, and the prior of the monastery, on pious subjects.

About six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monastic austerity. He desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Missal. As an

expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all the devout exercises in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which the image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the 21st of September, 1558, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days.

As Charles was the first prince of the age in rank

and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we consider the greatness, the variety, or the success of his undertakings, was the most conspicuous. In forming his schemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly and were late in attaining maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultations. Of consequence, Charles's measures had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all the parts were arranged, all the effects were foreseen, and even every accident was provided for. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn, that, during the most ardent and bustling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive; yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no one whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them. Though destitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person, he was no stranger to the



virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies, may be placed on a level with those illustrious personages who have attained the highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract, in some degree, from his own merit, if the talent of discovering and steadiness in employing such instruments were not the most undoubted proofs of a capacity for government.

There were, nevertheless, defects in his political character which must considerably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's desire of being distinguished as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Burgundy, this opened to him such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that, feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity, as were dishonourable in a great prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undesigning characters of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their

tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct, as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concerted plan.

The circumstances transmitted to us with respect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and less interesting than might have been expected from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. These are not the objects of this history, which aims more at representing the great transactions of the reign of Charles V., and pointing out the manner in which they affected the political state of Europe, than at delineating his private virtues or defects.

The plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and England, continued their conferences at Cercamp. But about a month after the opening of the conferences, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth, her sister, was immediately proclaimed queen with universal joy. As the powers of the English plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission and instructions from their new sovereign.

Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the warmest expressions of regard and friendship. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband, and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with

those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connexion with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had so recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negotiation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and solicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. Henry himself, by an unpardonable act of indiscretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourse with him to such a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time when he was courting Elizabeth's friendship with the greatest assiduity, he yielded with an inconsiderate facility to the solicitations of the princes of Lorraine, and allowed his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scots, to assume the title and arms of queen of England. This ill-timed pretension, the source of many calamities to the unfortunate queen of Scots, extinguished at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place distrust, resentment, and antipathy. Elizabeth soon found that she must unite her interests closely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him.

As she had granted a commission. immediately after her accession, to the same plenipotentiaries whom her sister had employed, she now instructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they

had previously consulted with them. Elizabeth demanded the restitution of Calais in the most peremptory tone, as an essential condition of her consenting to peace. Henry refused to give up that important conquest; and both seemed to have taken their resolution with unalterable firmness. But it was at length stipulated by treaty that the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, and that, at the expiration of that term, he should restore it to England.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe. Though the French complained of the unequal conditions it contained, Henry ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had stipulated to perform. But just after this momentous period, his days were cut short by a singular and tragical accident. His son, Francis II., a prince under age, of a weak constitution, and of a mind still more feeble, succeeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and disgusted even with his own nephews. They, persecuted by Philip, and deserted by the succeeding pope, whom they had raised by their influence to the papal throne, were condemned to the punishment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus most of the personages, who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, disappeared about the same time. A more known period of history opens at this era; other actors enter upon the stage, with different views, as well as different passions; new contests arose, and new schemes of ambition occupied and disquieted mankind.



# QUESTIONS

FOR THE

## EXAMINATION OF PUPILS,

TO THE PRESENT EDITION OF

### ROBERTSON'S HISTORY OF CHARLES V.

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*The figures prefixed to each paragraph refer to the page on which the answers are to be found. The questions which relate to the situation of places mentioned in the History may readily be answered by referring to any large Map of Europe.*

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#### VIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN EUROPE.

##### SECTION I.—*View of the Progress of Society in Europe, with respect to Interior Government, Laws, and Manners.*

PAGE 1. What are the two great revolutions which have happened in the political state and manners of the European nations? What sort of people did the armies of Rome find in the countries north of the Alps? Was the conquest of these countries easily effected? Was Europe laid waste in the struggle?

2. Did the Romans attempt to civilize the conquered nations? Were they successful? Was the state of the conquered nations favourable to the improvement of the mind? Was it favourable to liberty and energy of character among the people?

3. Was the Roman empire calculated to endure? Would it have fallen to pieces without any invasion from abroad? What invasion hastened its downfall? Whence came the invading hordes of barbarians? Were these countries supposed to be very populous? Were they so in reality?

4. Were these barbarians valiant and hardy? What first induced their inroads on the empire?

5. Had the ancient martial spirit of the Romans degenerated under the emperors? What was the character of their armies at that period?

6. Were the barbarians better soldiers? Was the overthrow of the Roman empire rapidly accomplished? Was this event attended with a great destruction of life and property? What changes afford evidence of this?

P. 7. What was the state of Europe at the close of the 6th century? Can such changes be effected without nearly exterminating the people?

8. Did the Goths and Vandals conquer for themselves individually, or for despotic leaders?

### *The Feudal System.*

9. What new species of government did the division of property among the conquerors introduce? Did the feudal system prevail in every kingdom of Europe?

10. When a freeman received a portion of land in a conquered country from his leader, what did he bind himself to do? Did this military service exempt him from all other burdens and taxes? Was it esteemed honourable? Who had the largest portion of land? What persons shared next? Did the chief officers also have their dependants and retainers? Was a feudal kingdom a military or a civil institution? Was the feudal policy effective against foreign invasion?

11. Was it equally effective in preserving internal tranquillity? Was this soon apparent? Was the aristocratic portion of the government first turbulent? What did the crown-vassals demand of the kings? What became hereditary, and what unalienable? What power did the crown-vassals next assume; and how did they exercise it?

12. What was then their conduct towards each other and the kings? What is the origin of the baronial castles? How long did this state of things last?

13. Did Charlemagne restore the royal power in any degree? Did his successors maintain it? What was the effect of this state of things on the progress of the mind and of society? On the arts and literature?

14. What was the effect on the Christian religion? What sovereigns endeavoured to dispel the darkness of these ages? Were they successful?

15. What was the state of society in these days of barbarism and darkness? How long did these disorders of the feudal system continue?

### *The Crusades.*

16. What event principally led to a change of government and manners? What were the crusades? Why was the Holy Land revered? Why visited by pilgrims? What opinion augmented the number of pilgrims?

17. Why did the caliphs encourage pilgrims? When did the Turks conquer Syria? What was the effect of the conquest? Where is Syria? Where is Palestine? What ecclesiastic first preached the crusades? At what councils? With what success was it attended?

P. 18. How many persons assumed the badge of the Cross? How long did the phrenzy last? What countries were at first conquered? What cities? Were the conquests easily preserved? When were the Christians driven out of Asia? Was any benefit derived from these expeditions?

*Effects of the Crusades on Manners.*

19. What circumstance first led to the improvement of manners? What route did the Crusaders take from Europe to Palestine? What was then the condition of Constantinople? Where is Constantinople? Of what empire is it the capital? What was the state of manners in Asia compared with that in Europe? In what way was the superior civilization of Saladin and the other Mahometan leaders exhibited?

20. In what way did the crusaders acquire their increased knowledge? What effect had this on the courts and manners of Europe?

*Effects of the Crusades on Property.*

20. How did the crusading barons raise money for their expeditions? Who bought their estates?

21. What became of the fiefs of those who died without heirs? How did the absence of the barons favour public tranquillity? How did these circumstances increase the royal power?

*Effects of the Crusades on Commerce.*

21. What caused the later crusaders to go to Palestine by water? Where did they embark? Where are Venice, Pisa, and Genoa? What other trade did these cities drive with them? What advantages did these Italian cities gain thereby?

22. How did they gain by the seizure of Constantinople? What benefit was finally secured to these cities by all these commercial advantages gained in the holy wars? Into what had the feudal system degenerated? Who were the oppressors? Were the oppressions confined to the country?

*Origin of Corporate Cities.*

23. What rights of the people were taken away? What cities first sought emancipation from this oppression? When did they begin to combine for freedom? How did they obtain immunities? How did the crusades aid them? What country next followed the example of Italy? Who was then its king?

24. What were the privileges Louis le Gros granted, called? What advantages did they confer? Who imitated the king's example? Why? In how long time was servitude abolished? What other countries followed the example? What effects resulted on government and manners?

**P. 25.** Was the change favourable to liberty and the security of property? How were the nobles affected by these changes? How did they affect the crown? How had the king before obtained soldiers and funds? To whom might he now look for them?

**26.** How did the establishment of civic communities affect industry, commerce, population, and wealth? How did they affect the administration of justice?

*Representation of the Cities in the Legislature.*

**26.** When the inhabitants of cities had acquired personal freedom and municipal jurisdiction, what did they next obtain? Under the feudal system, what was necessary in order to the assessment of a tax? To what privilege did this lead in the baron's courts?

**27.** Of whom was the supreme assembly of each nation composed. On whom did the towns depend for protection? Were they represented originally in the supreme assembly? When they became corporate bodies, what right did they acquire? How did they gain this right? In what kingdom did they first acquire this right? Under what king? Who summoned the burghers to attend parliament, and for what particular purpose?

**28.** What king of France introduced the deputies of corporate towns into the states-general, and for what purpose? Did the imperial cities of Germany make good their pretensions to a separate bench in the diet? What effect did the acquisition of this right have on the form and genius of government? What checks did it furnish? What portion of the community were the greatest gainers by it?

*Emancipation of the Serfs in the Country.*

**29.** What order of the community next began to recover liberty? What was the condition of the great body of the people during the rigour of the feudal system? How did the institution of communities benefit the country serfs? What monarchs first sought to render their emancipation general? Who followed their example in France?

**30.** In what other countries was slavery abolished? Describe the effects of this change.

*Reform in the Administration of Justice.*

**30.** How was justice administered under the feudal system? How were crimes generally punished? What was the effect of this state of things on society?

**31.** What was the first step towards establishing an equal administration of justice? From what ideas arose the practice of private wars or feuds? How were these wars con-



ducted? Was this practice at last recognised and regulated by law? How did it affect the authority of the king? What emperor prohibited it first?

P. 32. What did his successors do in relation to it? How did the church regard the practice? What effect did the remonstrance and prohibitions of the king and the church produce? How late did it subsist in France? To what is the final abolition of it attributed?

33. What was the next step towards the introduction of regular government? How are important transactions concluded in civilized countries? How among a rude and illiterate people? What inconveniences resulted from the use of verbal contracts?

34. What expedient was resorted to where a person was accused of a crime, where the fact was not clear and notorious? Was this privilege abused? How did they try to strengthen the effect of the oath? Was this effectual? How was the criminal then required to strengthen his own oath? What were these assistants called?

35. How did this succeed? What was their last resort? What were some of the modes of appeal to the *judgment of God*? Was this mode revered by the people of those ages?

36. How extensively was it used? What kinds of controversies were decided by it? Were judges exempted from it?

37. What was the effect of it on the course of justice? What on manners? Who opposed it?

38. What kings first forbade it? How far? What kings next forbade it? What order of men were most anxious to retain it?

39. How late was it used? What finally effected its abolition? What succeeded? How did the change affect the manners of the people?

#### *Appeal from the Barons.*

39. What was the next step towards the regular administration of justice? How far did the barons claim jurisdiction? Was this peculiar to the feudal system? How is its origin accounted for?

40. How did the judges compensate themselves for the responsibility and cares of the office? What advantages did the nobles derive from this privilege? To what state did it reduce each kingdom? How did it affect the public tranquillity? How did it affect the king's power?

41. What remedy did they apply at first? What next?

42. What kind of appeals at first? What next? How was this regarded by the barons? How did the kings act then? How did they at last prevail?

*The Canon Law.*

P. 43. What is the canon law? Considered as a political instrument, what were its effects? Considered as a code of laws respecting rights and property, what were its effects?

44. Was the system of canon law and the practice of its courts well arranged and equitable?

45. Did its example contribute to the abolition of the feudal abuses?

*The Roman Law.*

46. Were the Roman laws abolished by the Gothic nations? Why were they not adapted to their use? When were the Pandects of Justinian recovered and admired? What use was made of them? What was the effect of their study and use?

47. What is the most honourable profession in a barbarous state of society? What new profession now sprung into repute? What was the effect of the jurisdiction and courts of the barons?

*Chivalry.*

48. What institution first civilized and polished the nobles? What was its professed object? Were the crusaders knights of chivalry?

49. After the crusades terminated, what adventures did the knights seek? What were the characteristics of a true knight? Was knighthood honourable? To what ranks was it confined? What were its effects on the conduct of war? On the intercourse of society?

50. What are the three circumstances which distinguish modern from ancient manners? To what are they to be attributed? During what centuries did chivalry chiefly prevail? Were its effects apparent in the 16th century?

*Science and Literature.*

51. How did the nations who conquered the Romans regard their literature? What was the state of Europe with respect to literature and science after this conquest? In what century did the first symptoms of awakening appear? What was the character of the early efforts in science? In theology?

52. What institutions for education arose?

53. What was the character of the languages of Europe? In what language were books on the sciences written? What influence had the newly-awakened spirit of inquiry on society?

*Commerce.*

**P. 53.** What were the effects of commerce on society?

**54.** What had been the state of Europe with respect to foreign intercourse previous to the crusades? What new order of citizens arose with the revival of commerce?

**55.** With what parts of the world did the Italian cities open a trade? During what centuries was the commerce of Europe almost entirely conducted by the Italians? What were the Italian merchants called? Were they established in other countries besides Italy? In what other part of Europe was a mercantile association formed? What was it called?

**56.** What was their principal depot? What was the effect of commerce in Flanders? In what part of Europe is Flanders? What English king first attempted to render this country a commercial one? By what means?

**57.** What is the present rank of England in that respect? What are the natural effects of commerce on national prosperity and refinement?

**SECTION II.—***View of the Progress of Society in Europe with respect to the Command of the National Forces requisite in foreign Operations.*

**58.** What is necessary to call forth the whole strength of a nation for the operations of war? What was the state of the royal finances? Of their armies?

**59.** In what description of soldiers lies the proper strength of an army? What diminished the force of the Roman armies in later times? Of what were the armies in Europe chiefly composed in the 13th and 14th centuries?

**60.** Was the balance of power between the nations then regarded? Were the politics of the different nations interwoven with each other then? How long have they now been so?

**61.** Did the other nations of Europe take any interest in the quarrels of France and England? Or of the different kingdoms of Spain?

**62.** In what century did the princes acquire a more perfect command of the national force? In what reign did the balance of power become a subject of attention and the foundation of all the operations of foreign policy?

**63.** What event first occasioned an alteration in the arrangement of affairs in Europe? By whose death was this occasioned? What was the consequence to France?

**64.** What other circumstance increased the powers of France? What king of France first kept a standing army? How large? Who were its officers?

**P. 65.** How did the use of a standing army affect the nobles? How the royal power? Did the other powers of Europe follow the example of France in raising standing armies?

**66.** What circumstances diminished the power of the nobles in France? Besides establishing a standing army, what other new act of royal prerogative did Charles VII venture upon?

**67.** What was the consequence of his success in this? Who succeeded Charles VII.? What was his character? How did he treat the nobles?

**68.** What new mercenaries did he employ in his army? How did he raise money for his expenses?

**69.** How did he manage the great assemblies who granted subsidies? What additions did he make to his territories? What was the general character of his government?

**70.** What other prince imitated his example? Openly or covertly? By what means did he seek to humble the nobles? With what success?

**71.** What other monarchs followed Charles's example?

**72.** What was the first event which called forth the new energies of the kingdoms of Europe? How might Louis XI. have profited by the death of Charles the Bold? How could he become allied to the house of Burgundy? What was the object of marrying the Dauphin to Mary?

**73.** What measure did Louis adopt? What was his conduct in prosecuting it? Whom did Mary marry?

**74.** What prince eventually profited by this? What was the next event of consequence in the 15th century? What was the character of Charles VIII.? Of the nobility under him?

**75.** Who engaged Charles VIII. in his Italian expedition? What crown did Charles lay claim to in Italy? How did he acquire a claim? Had Louis XI. prosecuted the claim? What did Charles give up to Ferdinand and Maximilian?

**76.** What was the number of his troops? What was then the state of Italy? Of Italian warfare? Upon what did they rely for safety? What cities surrendered to Charles? What effect did it have on one king of Naples? And another? What was the result of Charles's invasion?

**77.** How did the Italians seek to deliver themselves from his dominion? What did Charles then attempt? What number of men were opposed to him? What then ensued? What did the princes and statesmen of Italy learn from this? What was the object of their policy through the 15th century?

**78.** Was this policy confined to them. What effect did this Italian war have on the military force and operations of Europe? What kind of troops were generally employed?



P. 79. What effect did the employment of the Swiss foot soldiers have? What other powers trained their men after the Swiss fashion?

80. How did the Spaniards improve upon it? What country eventually furnished the best infantry? What kind of troops has ever since formed the principal strength of armies? What other new fact did the nations of Europe learn from the Italian war?

81. How did Charles VIII. raise money for the Italian expedition? What interest did he pay the Genoese? What was the object of the league of Cambray?

82. What was its motive? Who projected it? Who united in it?

83. What was the result of the battle of Ghiarraddada? How were the Venetians affected by their ill-fortune? What was the effect of success on the confederacy? How did the Venetians then proceed? What did Julius II. next attempt?

84. Who aided him? How did he succeed? What was the effect of these Italian wars on the discipline and activity of military force in Europe?

### SECTION III.—*View of the Political Constitution of the principal States in Europe, at the commencement of the 16th Century.*

85-6. What was the state of Italy at the opening of the 16th century? What monarchy existed there? What republics? What other governments?

#### *The Popes.*

86. Which was the first of these powers in dignity? In what part of Italy are the pope's dominions? What was the origin of this government? Was its power confined to spiritual matters?

87. What was wanting to render their dominion universal? What were the internal sources of weakness in the pope's dominions?

88. How did the Roman barons act in the 12th century? How did certain of the popes suffer by this conduct?

89. Where did the popes reside during seventy years of the 14th century? What was the conduct of the people at that period? What pope restored the papal power? Who after him added conquests to their dominions?

90. What was the character of the ecclesiastical policy of the popes? Of their civil policy? Of their diplomacy?

91. What sort of soldiers did they employ? Did they encourage internal improvement? What was the effect of their spiritual authority on the princes of Europe?

*Venice.*

**P. 92.** After the papal see what country was most connected with the rest of Europe? Where is Venice? What was the character of the Venetian institutions with respect to the nobles? The people? What did the effective force of Venice consist of? What were the condottieri? What was the chief object of their leaders?

**93.** Who were the proveditori? Was the constitution of the Venetian state favourable to foreign conquest? What gave them power and importance? What was the character of Venice as a commercial nation?

*Florence.*

**93.** Where is Florence? Describe the constitution of Florence? What was its commercial character? What family acquired the greatest share of wealth and power among them?

**94.** What was the political state of Florence in the 15th century? What did the military force of Florence consist of?

*Naples.*

**94.** Where is Naples? Had the feudal government subsisted in Naples? What circumstances diminished the power of their princes?

**95.** What was one chief cause of the easy conquest of Naples by Charles VIII. of France? Who usurped the throne of Naples in the 13th century? Whom did the popes support as the legitimate sovereign? What was the result? Whose brother was Charles, count of Anjou? By what act of injustice did he sully the fame of his conquest of Naples? Whom did Conradin appoint as his heir?

**96.** What houses then contended for the crown of Naples? Which house obtained it? Did the house of Anjou relinquish their claim? To what king of France did the heir of that house bequeath it? Who prosecuted the claim by invading and conquering Naples? Did he keep possession? What prince of Aragon succeeded to it? What monarchs combined against him? Did they agree in dividing the kingdom when they had conquered it?

**97.** What great Spanish commander expelled the French and acquired the kingdom for Ferdinand of Aragon? To whom did he transmit it?

*Milan.*

**97.** Where is Milan? What was the most distinguished family in Milan? Which party in the Italian factions did they favour? What was the name of the opposite party? How were the Visconti connected with the kings of France?

P. 98. When the heirs male of the Visconti family failed, to what French duke did the duchy of Milan descend? What princes disputed his claim? What was the wish of the people of Milan? Who obtained the government of Milan? What had been his condition?

99. What was the fate of his grandson? Who succeeded him? What king of France disputed the title of Ludovico the Moor? With what success? What was the fate of the Moor? Who succeeded after another revolution? What king of France disputed his claim?

*Spain.*

100. Who overturned the Roman power in Spain? When did the Moors invade Spain? What was the consequence? What became of the Gothic nobles who would not submit to the Moorish government?

101. How did they treat their Moorish neighbours? Did the Moorish government remain undivided? How long did the Moorish wars in Spain last? How many battles were fought? What was the state of Spain after the expulsion of the Moors? What two kingdoms soon annexed the others to their territories? What event united these two?

102. Were the feudal institutions preserved in Spain notwithstanding the Moorish conquest? What was the state of the royal prerogative? Of the privileges of the nobility? Of the immunities of the cities?

103. What was the state of the country with respect to internal tranquillity? How did the people of Catalonia treat their sovereign John II.? How did the Castilian nobles treat Henry IV.? What ceremonies were used on this occasion? Who was proclaimed king in place of Henry?

104. In what part of Spain is Aragon? What was the form of government in Aragon? What was its real character? Where was the actual power vested? Of whom was the cortes composed? What powers did the cortes exercise? How often was it assembled? How often after the 14th century? Could the king dissolve it? How long was the session?

105. What were the powers of the justiza? To whom was he accountable? What was the effect of all this on the king's power?

106. What sort of oath of allegiance did the justiza take in the name of the barons? Did the constitution provide for the deposition of a tyrant? In what part of Spain is Castile? To whom was the executive part of the government committed in Castile? Was his power unlimited? Where was the legislative power vested? Define legislative, executive, judiciary, &c. Of whom was the cortes composed? What powers did they exercise?

P. 107. What was the character of the Castilian nobles? How did they treat their kings?

108. What compelled the Castilian kings to grant large territories and privileges to the nobles?

109. What rendered the cities powerful? Were the Spanish cities populous and commercial? Upon whom fell the burden of supporting the standing armies during the Moorish wars? What effect did all this have upon the power and importance of the cities in Spain?

110. Upon the royal prerogative? What sovereigns first succeeded in extending the royal prerogative? Upon what order of his subjects did Ferdinand first encroach? In what manner did he diminish their wealth?

111. In what manner their importance and power? What military orders existed in Spain? What was their object?

112. How did Ferdinand acquire the direction of these orders? How was this sanctioned? What was the character of the nobility in the reign of Ferdinand and of Charles V.? Of the people of Spain?

### *France.*

113. What was the state of the royal prerogative under the first race of French monarchs? What powers did the general assemblies of the nation possess under this race? Under the second race?

114. Under Hugh Capet of the third race what changes took place? Who assumed the power, before exercised by the states-general? Why were the barons unwilling to enact general laws? What was their most important office?

115. Could the other branches of the government in most cases act without them? Who assumed the legislative authority which had been relinquished by the states? When had the legislative power fallen completely into the hands of the king?

116. What princes first laid taxes without the concurrence of the states-general? Was this step resisted? What was the constitution of the kingdom under the first race of kings? Under the second? Under the third? Did Francis I. assemble the states-general?

117. What two things remained as a check upon the royal power? What parliament had been the supreme court of the kings? How did the kings increase its dignity and power?

118. How did they exert their power? Whose interest have they always favoured?

### *Germany.*

118. What countries are at present included in Germany? From what country did Charles V. derive his highest title?



Over what country besides Germany did Charlemagne reign ? Did his successors continue the union ? In which country did his successors best maintain the royal power ?

P. 119. When did the Germans first elect an emperor ? Whom did they elect ? What was the character of his successors ? What country did he conquer ? What title did he take ?

120. What order encroached on the royal power ? What method did the emperors employ to counteract this ? What was the effect of this ? What unprecedented power did the pope assume ? What encouraged Gregory VII. to this act ?

121. How did he begin his quarrel with the emperor ? How far did he humble the emperor ? What had been the emperor's character ? To what factions did the contest between Gregory and Henry give rise ? Which faction favoured the pope ?

122. What effect did these factious disturbances have on the German constitution ? What orders rose into power as the imperial dignity declined ?

123. How was the public prosperity and tranquillity affected by the quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellines ? How did Maximilian restore order ? What powers had the imperial chamber ?

124. What pretensions did the emperors make at the beginning of the 16th century ? Was their power commensurate with these pretensions ?

125. How did this incongruity appear ? In the turbulent period of the German history, what change took place in the mode of electing the emperors ? How many princes became electors ?

126. What were the sources of jealousy and variance in the different parts of the Germanic body ?

127. What effect did this discordance have on the foreign policy of Germany ? How were Charles V.'s schemes thwarted ? How were some of his greatest achievements effected ?

### *Turkey.*

128. In what part of Europe is Turkey ? What race has frequently conquered the southern parts of Asia ? Which of the Tartar tribes took Constantinople in the 15th century ? What was the form and character of their government ? With whom was the supreme power vested ?

129. Are there any nobles in Turkey ? Describe the form of government ? What is the greatest honour a subject can aspire to ? Is even this hereditary ? What is the most odious feature of eastern despotism ?

130. What two restraints affect the sultan's power ? What class of troops did Amurath raise ? In what manner ?

P. 131. How did the janissaries use their power? What was the character of the sultans from Mahomet II. to Solymán the Magnificent? With whom was the latter contemporary? What reforms did Solymán introduce?

132. What was the character of the Turkish troops in the 16th century? Of the Christian forces of the same period?

### BOOK I.

133. When and where was Charles V. born? Where is Ghent? Who was his father? His mother? Who was the father of Philip the Handsome? Who was the mother of Philip? Who was the father of Joanna? Who was her mother? To whom had Mary of Burgundy been contracted? How was she treated by Louis XI.? What did Louis lose by this?

134. How was Isabella raised to the throne of Castile? Where is Castile? What became of her niece Joanna? What relation did Isabella bear to Charles V.? How did Ferdinand acquire the crown of Aragon? Where is Aragon? What was his relation to Charles V.? How did he acquire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily? What countries were discovered and added to the Spanish dominions by Columbus? What son had Ferdinand and Isabella lost? On whom did their hopes then rest? What court did Philip and Joanna visit on their journey from Flanders to Spain?

135. How were they received in Spain? How was Philip pleased with Spain? How did Ferdinand regard Philip? What was Joanna's character?

136. When did Philip leave Spain? How was Joanna affected by his desertion of her? Where did she rejoin her husband? With whom did Philip sign a treaty on his way to Brussels? Where is Brussels? Did Ferdinand regard it? Who commanded Ferdinand's forces in Italy?

137. When and where did Isabella die? What was her character? Whom did she leave regent of the kingdom of Castile? To whom did she leave half the revenues of the Indies, and the grand masterships of the three military orders? What oath did she impose on him?

138. Whom did Ferdinand order to be proclaimed sovereign of Castile? What character did he assume? Was he popular with the Castilians? How did the grandees regard him? How did Philip regard Ferdinand's proceedings? Who was his adviser? Whose ambassador was Don John Manuel?

139. What did Philip's ambassadors, despatched from Brussels to Spain by Don John's advice, require Ferdinand to do? What intrigue did Ferdinand's ambassador Conchillos carry

on with Joanna at Brussels? Who detected this intrigue? How was Conchillos punished? How did Philip's emissaries succeed with the Castilian nobles?

P. 140. How did Ferdinand now attempt to set aside the right of Philip and Joanna to the throne of Castile? What oath did he thus violate? How was his plan defeated? Whose sister did he then propose to marry?

141. What great object of his past life did he thus relinquish? What effect did this proposal of marriage by Ferdinand have on Philip? What terms did Ferdinand and Philip agree upon in the treaty of Salamanca? Where is Salamanca?

142. Did Philip intend to observe this treaty? What was his design in making it? What was his first step after concluding it? Whither was he driven by a tempest? How long and by whom detained there? Where did he land in Spain? How was he received by the nobles? What office was Ferdinand at length compelled to resign?

143. What part of Isabella's bequest did he retain? How did the two princes appear at the interview which followed the conclusion of this treaty? Whither did Ferdinand retire? What was the condition of queen Joanna on the accession of her husband to the crown of Castile? What did Philip wish the cortes to do with respect to Joanna?

144. Did they consent? What titles did they grant to Philip and Joanna and their son Charles? When did Philip die? At what age? How long did he reign over Castile? What was Joanna's conduct at the death of her husband?

145. What was her conduct in relation to the government? What sovereigns claimed the office of regent in Castile? Define *regent*? Upon what did Ferdinand found his claims? Upon what did Maximilian found his?

146. For whom did Don John Manuel declare? Whither was Ferdinand going when Philip died? To whose interest was the great cardinal Ximenes attached?

147. When did Ferdinand return from Italy to Castile? How was he received? What African territories were now acquired for Charles (afterward the emperor Charles V.)? By whom? Who defrayed the expense of the expedition? What territories did Ferdinand acquire for his grandson? What sovereign was expelled from Navarre?

148. How did Ferdinand regard his grandson? Had Ferdinand any son by his marriage with the niece of Louis XII.? Did this son survive his father?

149. What alteration did he make in his will at the approach of death? When did he die? What was Charles's age when he received this inheritance? Where had he resided? What princesses had the care of forming his early youth? Whom had the Flemings appointed regent upon the

death of Philip, Charles's father? To whom did Maximilian intrust Charles's education? Who acted as preceptor under Chievres? What was Adrian's profession? His character? Was Charles fond of learning? Of what pursuits was he fond?

P. 150. To what did Chievres direct his attention? What effect did his early attention to affairs of state have on his character?

151. What evils had been averted by the energetic government of Ferdinand? In order still longer to avert these evils, whom did Ferdinand appoint to the regency till Charles should arrive in Spain? What was this man's origin? To what order of friars did he belong? What office did his reputed sanctity procure for him?

152. To what dignity did Isabella raise him? What constrained him to accept it? What were his habits after his promotion? What were his qualities as a politician?

153. What was his age when appointed regent of Castile? What other prelate laid claim to the office? How were their claims adjusted? Which retained the real power? Where did Ximenes place the infant Don Ferdinand? Why?

154. What title did Charles assume on hearing of Ferdinand's death? To whom did the sovereignty belong by the laws of Spain? What foreign princes acknowledged Charles as king of Spain? Did Ximenes remonstrate privately against it? How did the nobles receive Charles's claim?

155. How did Ximenes settle the affair? Was Charles then acknowledged in Castile? In Aragon? What designs did Ximenes entertain with respect to the nobles? What was the conduct of the nobles after Ferdinand's death?

156. How did Ximenes remedy this? How did he supply the place of a standing army? Who provided officers? How were the privates compensated? What was the pretended object of this military force?

157. What was its real object? What was its fate after his death? What measure did the nobles take for the safety of their order? What nobles were joined in the commission? How did Ximenes receive them? How did he silence their murmurs?

158. Who besides the Spanish nobility opposed Ximenes? How did they regard Adrian? Was Charles influenced by their complaints? Whom did he join in the commission of regency? How did Ximenes receive them? Did he suffer them to influence his proceedings? Did the Spanish people and nobles favour Ximenes more than the Flemish ministers?

159. What war did Ximenes support in the north? With what success? Where is Navarre? How did he provide for the future tranquillity of Navarre? What castle was spared? What good effect did Spain realize from this measure?



What war did Ximenes support in the south? With what success? Where are Algiers and Tunis? How did he bear this disgrace?

P. 160. What was Chievres's leading passion? How did this operate to the disadvantage of Spain? Did the other Flemish ministers follow Chievres's example? How did Ximenes and the Spanish nation regard this? What measure did he recommend to Charles?

161. What war had been entailed upon Charles by Ferdinand? Who had been allied with Ferdinand against France? Why did the Flemings desire peace? Who was king of France? What ambassadors concluded the treaty? What were its principal conditions? Who was Charles to marry? With what dowry? How was the claim of the heirs of the king of Navarre disposed of?

162. How was Maximilian affected by this treaty? Why did the Flemings oppose Charles's return to Spain? Why did Chievres wish to prevent an interview between Charles and Ximenes? How long did Charles remain in Flanders after signing the treaty of Noyon? Who attended him on his voyage to Spain?

163. When and where did he land? Where is Asturias? How was he received? How was Ximenes occupied at this time? Where and by what was he detained when advancing to meet the king? What advice did he give Charles in his letter? Why did he desire to meet the king? Who prevented this?

164. How was the great cardinal treated during his illness? How did he bear this? What act of unkindness by Charles at last broke his heart? When did he die? How long had he been regent? What remarkable honour did he receive from the people? Where had Charles summoned the cortes of Castile to meet? Where is Valladolid? Had they acknowledged him king?

165. How did they adjust his and his mother's claims to the crown? What free gift did they vote? How did Charles's Spanish subjects soon begin to regard him? Whose influence did he act under? How did Chievres and the other Flemings abuse their influence with the king? Who was nominated to the archbishopric of Toledo?

166. To what city of Aragon did Charles repair to meet the cortes of that kingdom? Whither did he send his brother Ferdinand? What advantage resulted from this step? Had the Aragonese acknowledged Charles as king? Who had assembled the cortes? What did he obtain from this cortes?

167. What embassy came from France during the sitting of the cortes? Did it succeed? From Aragon whither did Charles proceed? How was he received there? What mea-

sure did the Castilian cities resort to? Of what did they complain? How did Charles treat them?

P. 168. Where is Barcelona? Of what important event did Charles hear at Barcelona? When did Maximilian die? By what revolutions had the importance of the imperial office been increased?

169. To whom did Maximilian wish the imperial crown to be given? Had he been crowned by the pope? Why were the Germans averse to Maximilian's choice of a successor? How was the difficulty removed? Who was Charles's rival? On what did Charles found his pretensions?

170. What circumstance rendered Charles a suitable emperor for resisting the Turkish power? Among the candidates for the imperial crown who was best able to resist the Turks? What other means besides argument did Charles employ in supporting his claim? On what did Francis I. found his pretensions to the imperial crown? Did he also resort to bribes and threats? How were his treasures for bribery transmitted?

171. How did the other sovereigns of Europe regard the pretensions of the two competitors? Did they oppose the designs of Charles and Francis? What sovereign possessed the greatest power over the respective pretensions of the two candidates? What measure did he resort to? Why was his claim disregarded? How did he act after his own disappointment?

172. What other sovereign took an interest in the decision? Why did Leo X. regard the contest with deep interest? What possessions had Charles in Italy? What had Francis? Did this render both dangerous neighbours to the pope? Which of the claimants did he really favour? What did he secretly advise the German electors to do? Whom did Leo pretend to favour? Why?

173. Did Leo's measures succeed? When and where was the imperial diet opened? Where is Frankfort? What was the number of the electors?

174. What is the first principle of patriotism among the members of the Germanic body? Would it have violated this principle to elect Charles or Francis? To whom did they offer the crown? Did he accept it? What reason did he assign for this step?

175. How did the Spanish ambassadors offer to reward him? Did he accept it? What now remained for the electors to do? When was the contest decided? In whose favour?

176. What paper did the electors require Charles's ambassadors to sign? Did Charles confirm it? What was its use? Where was Charles when he heard the news of his election? Where is Barcelona?

177. What title did Charles assume? Was he the first to

do this? Were the Spaniards pleased at Charles's elevation? Was Charles deterred from accepting it by their discontent? What grant had the pope made to Charles?

P. 178. Did the clergy accede to this? Did the clergy carry their point? In what city did tumults arise? What measure did the citizens of Valencia resort to? To what crown had the kingdom of Valencia been annexed? What was the capital city of the kingdom of Valencia? In what part of Spain is Valencia? What was the object of the military association of Valencia? How were the people treated by the nobles? To whom did the nobles apply for leave to attack the people and suppress the insurrection? What measure did the people oppose to this? At what juncture did the deputies of the people visit Charles?

179. Whom did Charles appoint to hold the cortes? What did the nobles then resolve to do? How did Charles then decide the dispute between the nobles and people of Valencia? What were the consequences of this rash step? What did the cities of Castile resolve to do on hearing of Charles's election? Did he receive their deputies?

180. Where did he summon the cortes to meet? Where is Compostella? In what part of Spain is Galicia? For what purpose did Charles summon the cortes to meet? Where are Toledo and Valladolid? What did the magistrates of Toledo do on this occasion? What outrage did the people of Valladolid attempt? What disposition did the cortes when assembled at Galicia manifest? How did the emperor endeavour to influence the deputies to grant the donative?

181. Which party did the nobles favour? Did Charles gain their subsidy by the influence of the nobles? How did he requite them? Whom did he appoint regent of Castile? To whom did he give the viceroyalty of Aragon? To whom that of Valencia? Were these appointments popular? From what port did Charles sail? When?

## BOOK II.

182. What circumstances rendered Charles's presence in Germany necessary? What was the cause of the long-continued rivalry between Charles and Francis?

183. What sovereign were Charles and Francis particularly anxious to gain? When did Henry VIII. ascend the throne? What opposing parties did he unite? For what were Henry and the English nation particularly anxious? Of what French port was Henry in possession? Where is Calais? Which way from Paris?

184. Was Henry as well qualified by his disposition as by his situation to preserve the balance of power between Charles and Francis? Who was Henry's prime minister? What

were his origin and character? Was he sincerely devoted to the interest of his master and the nation? What was his chief object? How did the states of Europe court Henry's friendship?

P. 185. Whom did Francis employ to gain him? What did he gain from Henry by Wolsey's intercession? What claims had Charles on Henry? How did he seek to secure Wolsey's interest?

186. Whither did Charles steer on leaving Corunna? In what part of Spain is Corunna? Where did he land? Which way is it from Corunna to Dover? Why did he visit England? What additional pension did he grant Wolsey? Where was Henry when Charles landed in England? Which way is Canterbury from London? Whom did he despatch to meet Charles? How long did Charles remain in England? What did he effect by his visit? How did he completely gain Wolsey to his interest? Where did Henry promise to visit Charles?

187. Where and when did the interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I. take place? Where are Guisnes and Ardres? What was the plain called? How was the time of this visit occupied? How many days did it last? Where and when did Charles and Henry have an interview after this? What was its effect? Where and when was Charles V. crowned emperor of Germany? Where is Aix-la-Chapelle? What other monarch ascended his throne about the same time? What five great monarchs flourished in the 16th century?

188. What was the first act of the emperor's administration? For what purpose was the diet to be assembled? When did Luther begin to propagate his opinions?

189. What was the condition of the revenues of the Catholic church when Leo X. ascended the throne? How did he provide a fund for the supply of his extravagant schemes? Explain the nature of indulgences? When and by whom were they invented? For what purpose were they at first intended? For what did Julius II. and Leo X. grant them?

190. To whom was the right of promulgating indulgences in Germany granted? Whom did Albert elector of Mentz employ? How did they abuse the grant? What was the effect of this conduct on the public sentiment?

191. Where was Luther born? In what part of Europe is Saxony? What event caused him to become an Augustinian friar?

192. From what book did he derive his new theological opinions? Of what university was he appointed professor? By what prince?

193. Against what practice of the church of Rome did he first preach? How was his preaching received? To what



prelate did he first complain of the sale of indulgences? With what success? What was his next step? In publishing the theses did he acknowledge the authority of the church? Were his theses answered?

P. 194. How did Leo X. regard the controversy at this time? What was Leo at length induced to do by the enemies of Luther? Did Luther obey the summons? Where did he wish to be tried? What did the professors of Wittenburg and the elector request of the pope? Whom did the pope appoint to hear and determine the cause? In their dispute to what did Cajetan appeal? To what did Luther? Was he intimidated by his threats? What did Luther's friends persuade him to do?

195. Where is Augsburg? To whom did Cajetan appeal for the punishment of Luther? Why did the elector protect Luther?

196. What disposition did Luther manifest in his dangerous situation? To whom did Luther appeal from the pope's sentence? What did the pope require of all Christendom in his bull?

197. Did it produce much effect? What prevented the consequences of the pope's bull from being injurious to Luther? How was Luther's friend, the elector of Saxony, now enabled to protect him? Why was Leo afraid to excommunicate Luther? How long did this suspension of hostilities last?

198. What was the subject of the public disputation between Luther and Eccius at Leipsic? Where is Leipsic? How did the dispute terminate? In what other country were indulgences opposed? Who led the reformers in Switzerland? What universities declared against them?

199. When was the bull against Luther finally pronounced? What were its terms? How was it received? Was Luther intimidated by it? How did he proceed?

200. When Charles arrived in Germany had any prince embraced Luther's opinions? Had the possessions and privileges of the Catholic clergy been invaded? What was the state of the public sentiment in Germany? How were Luther, Melancthon, and others, disseminating their opinions? What was the conduct of the court of Rome?

201. Who had opposed the corruptions of the Romish church in the 12th century? Who in the 14th? Who in the 15th?

202. Why did they not succeed? What circumstances had diminished the popular reverence for the popes in the 14th and 15th centuries?

203. What was the character of Alexander VI.? Of Julius II.? Did their profligacy and ambition diminish the

reverence for the papal office? What was the general character of the clergy of the Romish church immediately previous to the Reformation?

P. 204. Were all the owners of ecclesiastical property resident in Germany?

205. What was the cause of the rapid progress of Luther's doctrines? How did the art of printing aid the Reformation?

206. How did the revival of learning aid it?

207. What were the proceedings of the diet at Worms?

208. Why did Charles V. determine to oppose Luther? What did the pope's legates at the diet insist upon? Did the diet command Luther's personal attendance? How did they guarantee his safety?

209. How did he behave before the diet? Did the council force him to retract his opinions? What did his enemies propose to the council? Was their proposition acceded to? What decree was published after his departure? How was Luther saved from the effects of this edict? Whither was he conveyed? How did he pass his time there?

210. What changes did the Augustinians of Wittenburg make in the forms of worship? How did the university of Paris treat Luther's doctrine? How did Henry VIII. of England? How did the pope reward his zeal? Was it the Protestant or the Catholic faith which he defended? Did the Protestant kings of England, his successors, retain the title of Defender of the Faith?

211. Did Luther reply to both the university and the king? Did the controversy attract attention throughout Europe? What was its effect in France and England? Where was war on the point of breaking out between France and the emperor? Was the emperor desirous of this event? Was Francis I.?

212. Whom did Henry VIII. favour? Why did Leo X. endeavour to excite discord between Charles and Francis? Which did he choose for an ally? Did Leo remain faithful to the treaty? Who was Charles's ambassador at Rome?

213. Whence were the French to be driven by the united forces of Charles and Leo? Who was to have possession of the Milanese? Who was to have Parma and Placentia? Where is Parma? Where is Placentia? What effect did this treaty have on Chievres? Was his death a fortunate circumstance for Charles?

214. Where did hostilities commence, while Charles and Leo were preparing to attack Milan? By whom? In whose name? Who commanded the French? Was Navarre gained by them?

215. Where is Pampeluna? What fortress resisted? What distinguished man was wounded there? What order

did he found? After conquering Navarre, what imprudent step did l'Esparre take? What was the consequence of his invading Castile? Where is Navarre? How is it bounded? Where is Logroño? Which way is it from Pampeluna to Logroño?

P. 216. In what other part of Charles's territories did Francis attack him? Where is Bouillon? Luxembourg? Vireton? Who was induced by Francis to declare war against Charles? Whither did he march? Where were Robert's troops raised? To whom did Charles complain of this attack? Did Francis acknowledge his participation in it? Why did he order De la Mark to disband his troops? What general was sent by Charles to chastise the insolence of De la Mark? How did he succeed? After reducing Bouillon, whither did the count of Nassau proceed? How did he obtain possession of Mouson? Where is Mouson?

217. What place did he next invest? Who commanded at Mezieres? What was his character? Where is Mezieres? What was the result of the siege? What place did Francis then first retake? What happened to him in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes? Where is Valenciennes? How did he offend Charles, duke of Bourbon? Where was a congress held during those military operations? Why did it not produce peace? What was Wolsey's object in devoting himself to the interest of Charles?

218. What was the result of the congress? Where did Wolsey visit Charles? How was he received? What was the result of this visit? According to the league formed between Wolsey (for Henry VIII.) and Charles, on which side was Charles to invade France? On which side was Henry to invade it? With how many men each? Whom was Charles to marry? What was Henry's real motive for war with France? What part of Italy was the seat of the war begun by the pope and the emperor against Francis? Where is Lombardy? Were the French popular in Italy?

219. What was the conduct of the French governor of Milan? Whom did he banish? Whither did Leo permit the exiles to retire? Did the Marechal de Foix succeed in surprising them? By whose good conduct was he repulsed? On receiving intelligence of the French attack on Reggio, how did Leo proceed?

220. With whom did he conclude a treaty? Whom did he excommunicate? Where is Milan? Where is Reggio? In whose territories was Reggio? Who commanded the imperial forces at the opening of the war in Italy? Who commanded the French? What kind of mercenaries were employed on both sides?

221. Was there a law of the Swiss against this? What did the Swiss government order their subjects to do? How did the cardinal of Sion prevent this order from taking effect?

in the army of the allies? What was its effect in the French army? Whither did Lautrec retire?

P. 222. How did Colonna gain possession of Milan? Whither did Lautrec then retire? To what state were Parma and Placentia united? How was Leo X. affected by the news? For what purpose was the conclave of cardinals assembled at Rome? Was Wolsey's interest strong among the cardinals? What cardinal had secured fifteen voices? How was the choice at last decided?

223. To what did the cardinals attribute this unexpected choice? What ambassador's influence was the real cause of it? How did Francis regard it? By whose assistance was he enabled to invade the Milanese?

224. How were the Swiss troops exasperated against Lautrec? What did they require him to do? Did he lead them to battle? What was the result? What were the consequences of this defeat? What city and territories remained subject to France? How did Colonna become possessed of this country?

225. What sovereign declared war with France in May? How did Francis receive the herald who declared war? What country did Charles visit on his return from Germany to Spain? How long did his visit last? What were its consequences? Whom did Charles create his high admiral?

226. What coasts did he ravage? Where did he take command of an army? Where is Normandy? Bretagne? Morlaix? Picardy? Whither did Surrey proceed with the count de Buren? What mode of warfare was used by the duke of Vendome for the defence of France? How did he succeed? What was the result of the second campaign? During this time what country did Solymán the Magnificent enter? What city did he take? Where is Hungary? Where is Belgrade? On what river? What island did he turn his forces against? To whom did the island belong? Where is it situated? What was the number of his army? Of his fleet? What was the force of the knights of St. John? Who commanded the knights? Of whom did he implore assistance?

227. Who united with him in his request? How did they succeed? How long did the knights sustain the siege? What island did the emperor grant the knights? Where is Malta?

### BOOK III.

228. When did Charles arrive in Spain? In what state did he find the country? What was the effect of the free gift granted by the cortes to the emperor? Where is Galicia? Where is the city of Toledo? What course did the citizens of Toledo take? Who was their leader? Where is Segovia?



P. 229. Who had been their representative in the cortes of Galicia? How was he treated at his return? Where are the cities of Burgos and Zamora? How were the representatives of these cities treated? Where had Adrian the regent of Spain fixed the seat of government? Who was Adrian? Where is Valladolid? When did Adrian assemble the privy council? Did Adrian adopt mild or violent measures?

230. Whom did he send to Segovia? How was he received by the Segovians? How did he proceed against the Segovians? Who reinforced the Segovian army? Which party was victorious? Whom did Adrian order to besiege Segovia in form? In what city was a magazine established by cardinal Ximenes? Where is Medina del Campo? Did they deliver the battering cannon to Fonseca? How did Fonseca treat the inhabitants?

231. How did the inhabitants of Valladolid express their resentment for this injury? How did cardinal Adrian endeavour to stop these outrages? With what success?

232. What was the first object of Padilla? Where was the convention appointed to be held? Where is Avila? To what did the deputies bind themselves by oath? What did they style the convention? What did they agree to require of Adrian? To what city did Padilla march? Where is Tordesillas? Of whose person did Padilla possess himself?

233. What did they commission Padilla to do at Valladolid? What was Adrian's situation after this? Was the emperor aware of these disturbances? Why could he not then return to Spain? Did he adopt the violent or conciliatory course with the rebels?

234. What did he in his circulars exhort the people to do? What did he exhort the nobles to do? Whom did he join with Adrian in the regency? Did these concessions produce any effect? What measure did the junta resort to? When did the delegates of the junta set out for Germany?

235. What intelligence did they hear from the court? What effect did this have? How were the junta affected by this intelligence from the court? What did they declare the conduct of the emperor to be? What measures of opposition were discussed in the junta? With what force did they take the field? Who were candidates for the office of general? Who was appointed? Where did the regents assemble the royal army? What formed the chief strength of their army? Who commanded the royalists?

236. Where did he attempt to surround and reduce De Haro's force to the necessity of surrendering? How did he succeed? Whither did he march? Whither did De Haro march? What did he gain possession of there? What were the consequences of the rebels losing possession of the queen's person? Where did the remnant of the junta and the army assemble? Who was appointed to command the army?

**P. 237.** What did the rebels most need? How was money raised? How did the regents raise money to pay the royal troops? What place did Padilla take by storm? Where is Torrelobaton?

**238.** Did he improve this victory? How did the junta prevent him from taking active measures? Where did the constable assemble troops? Where is Burgos? With whom did he affect a junction? As they advanced, towards what place did Padilla retreat? Where is Toro? Where was he overtaken by Haro? Where is Villalar?

**239.** Where and when was Padilla captured? How was he treated? After the victory at Villalar, what cities opened their gates to the royalists? Was the confederation of cities against the emperor broken up? Which was the only city that held out? Who animated the citizens to resist the emperor's forces?

**240.** To whom did she write? How did she raise money? After expelling the French from Navarre, what place did the royal army invest? Was Donna Maria intimidated by this? What event caused the clergy to desert her? Whither did she finally escape? What was the consequence of her flight? Did this rebellion increase or lessen the power of the crown?

**241.** What had been the state of Valencia since 1520? Where is the kingdom of Valencia? The city? What associations subsisted there? Against whom were the Valencians most exasperated? Did the nobles defend themselves? Which party then prevailed? Who prevented an open rebellion in Aragon?

**242.** What happened in Majorca? Where is Aragon? Majorca? What act of clemency did the emperor perform immediately after his return to Spain? By what other means did he acquire an ascendancy over his Spanish subjects?

**243.** How was pope Adrian received in Italy? How did he manage the concerns of his office? To whom did he restore places wrested from them by the church? For what purpose did he try to reconcile Charles and Francis? Was he qualified for this undertaking?

**244.** Who entered into a league against Francis? Was Francis disheartened by the defection of his allies?

**245.** What country did he propose to invade in person? What prevented this? Who was the author of the conspiracy against Francis? Was he related to the king? Why did Louise, the king's mother, hate the Bourbons? How had the king injured the duke of Bourbon?

**246.** What was the effect of these injuries? What did the emperor offer him? Who, besides the constable and Charles V., was to invade France? How many men was Bourbon to furnish? Where was the emperor to enter France? Henry?

Where was Bourbon to act in the war? For what did the conspirators wait? Who informed Francis of the correspondence between Bourbon and Charles V.?

P. 247. Where did he visit Bourbon? What was the result of the visit? When did the constable make his escape into Italy? Did Francis go to Italy? Whom did he appoint in his place to lead the army?

248. What was his character? Who commanded the imperialists? To what city did he retire? Did he make good the defence of Milan? What prelate died during these transactions?

249. How long did the conclave last for choosing his successor? Who was chosen? What title did he take? Of what state had he already the government? Why was not cardinal Wolsey chosen pope? Did he secretly resent the emperor's indifference to his interests?

250. Had Henry VIII. fulfilled his part of the treaty with Charles? What retarded his military operations? When did his army take the field? Under whose command? How near to Paris did he approach? Who commanded the French?

251. Did the emperor succeed in his attack upon Burgundy and Guienne? What had Francis I. effected in 1523? What misfortunes happened to France in the beginning of 1524? What did the pope desire? Was he successful?

252. Where did the allied army assemble? Who succeeded Colonna in the command of it? To what two generals was the chief conduct of military affairs given? What was the result of the campaign? What disciple of Luther raised a sedition in Saxony?

253. How was it terminated? What work had occupied Luther in his retreat? Who assisted him? When was a part of the New Testament finished and published? What was the effect of its publication?

254. What cities embraced the Lutheran religion? What princes became patrons of Luther's opinions? What was pope Adrian's character? Who was his nuncio to the diet at Nuremburg? In his brief, how did he require Luther to be treated by the diet? What did he say in his brief concerning the corruption of the church?

255. Did the diet execute the edict of Worms? Why not? What measure did they recommend to the pope? What did the pope's nuncio propose? Did he prevail upon the diet to relinquish the proposal for a general council?

256. How did he avoid bearing unpleasant tidings to his master the pope? What did the diet recommend in their recess of March 6, 1523? How were the reformers benefited by the diet of Nuremburg? Where is Nuremburg? To what did they appeal in their subsequent controversies?

**P. 257.** How was pope Adrian's conduct regarded at Rome? How were his schemes of reformation treated by the cardinals and other ecclesiastics? What was the character of pope Clement VII.? Was he willing to call a council?

**258.** Whom did he send to Nuremburg as his nuncio? What did Campeggio exhort the diet to do? Did he prevail upon the diet to persecute the Lutherans?

#### BOOK IV.

**259.** What power had been expelled from Italy? Who was restored to the duchy of Milan? What did the Italians desire? To what did the pope advise Charles V.? Was his advice regarded? What part of France did he propose to invade?

**260.** What part was Henry VIII. to invade? Where is Provence? Picardy? Guienne? Of what country was Bourbon to be put in possession? How many men did the emperor employ in the invasion of Provence? Under whose command? To what city did Pescara lay siege? Where is Marseilles? To what city did Bourbon wish to march? Where is Lyons? On what river?

**261.** How did Francis prepare for the defence of Marseilles? Did the citizens of Marseilles make good its defence? How long did the siege last? Meantime, where had Francis assembled an army? Where is Avignon? Whither did the imperialists retire on the approach of this army? After having repelled the invaders of France, what did Francis next attempt? Did Pescara arrive at Milan before the French?

**262.** Did he keep possession of the city? How did Lannoy raise money? What did Pescara prevail on the Spanish troops to do? Whither did Bourbon go to raise troops? Whither did the imperialists retire? Where is Lodi? On what river? To what city did he lay siege? Where is Pavia? On what river? Which way from Milan? By how many veterans was it defended? Under whose command? What was his character?

**263.** How long did Francis prosecute the siege? Meantime, what was the situation of the army under Lannoy and Pescara? How was this inaction satirized at Rome? How did Leyva defend Pavia? How did Francis's army suffer by attempting to divert the course of the Tesino? What did pope Clement desire at this time? What treaty did he conclude with France? What kingdom did Francis then attempt to conquer?

**264.** How many men did he detach from his army for this purpose? Under whose command? Was this a wise measure? Was the garrison of Pavia reduced to extremities? What did the marquis of Villena make to Charles when his castle was



How many Germans did Bourbon bring to their relief? When the imperialists approached, what did Francis's generals wish him to do? What did Bonnavet advise? Which was the best advice? Whose advice did Francis follow?

P. 265. How did the Swiss under Francis behave? What was the conduct of Francis? Who saved his life? To whom did he surrender?

266. How many men fell at the battle of Pavia? What other king besides Francis was made prisoner? What was its effect on the French power in Italy? Who had the care of Francis? Whither did he conduct him? To whose care did he commit him? How was intelligence of the battle of Pavia conveyed to Charles? How did Charles receive the intelligence? Was this moderation real or affected?

267. What was Francis's letter to his mother? What saved the country from ruin? What did Louise do? What king did she attempt to conciliate?

268. What were Henry's views? Was he disposed to aid Francis? How was Wolsey disposed towards Francis? Did they come to a secret agreement with Louise? What public measures did Henry take? What did his ambassadors demand of Charles?

269. What was the effect of the battle of Pavia in Italy? What did Lannoy oblige the pope to do? Did Charles confirm the treaty? Was the pope defrauded of his money?

270. What use did Lannoy make of the money exacted from the pope? Did Charles resolve to treat Francis generously? What terms of liberation did he order de Roieux to propose to Francis? How did Francis treat the proposal? Did Francis believe that these conditions came from Charles? Whither was he removed by Lannoy?

271. What part of Spain did he arrive at? Where is Barcelona? To what city was he conducted? Who had the care of him? What treaty was concluded about this time? Who laid a plot for freeing Italy from Charles V.?

272. How did Morone prevail on Pescara to join in the plot?

273. To whom did Pescara betray the plot? Was Charles aware of it before? What did he require Pescara to do? How did Pescara manage the betrayal of Morone?

274. Whither was Morone conducted? How was Sforza punished? How did Charles treat Francis? On what pretence did he stay away from Madrid and avoid visiting Francis? What was the effect of this treatment on Francis?

275. What did Charles do when Francis was sick? What was the effect of his visit? How was Francis treated on his recovery? How did Charles treat the traitor Bourbon? What was the object of this? Did the Spanish nation approve of his courtesies to Bourbon? What reply did the

wanted for Bourbon? Whose hand did Bourbon demand in marriage?

P. 276. How was he rewarded by Charles? Besides the command of the army in Italy, what duchy was granted him? What was the chief obstacle in the way of Francis's liberty? What duchess and what king interceded for Francis? With what success? To what resolution did Francis at last come? What was its effect on Charles?

277. When was the treaty which procured Francis's liberty signed? What were some of its conditions? How did Francis try to annul this treaty before signing it?

278. How was he restored to his friends at the river Andaye? What exclamation did he make as he mounted his horse? How long was this after the battle of Pavia? Whom did Charles marry? With what dowry?

279. What was the condition of Germany at this time? Where did the peasants first appear in arms? Where is Suabia? How did they proceed? Of what rank in society were their leaders?

280. At first, had the insurrection any connexion with religion? Who led the rebels in Thuringia? Where is Thuringia? To what elector is Thuringia subject? What was the character of Thomas Muncer? At what did he and his followers aim?

281. What was their number? What impious and blasphemous pretensions did he make? What princes surrounded Muncer and his 8000 followers?

282. How was their ambassador treated? How was this outrage punished? What was Muncer's fate? How did Luther act during these troubles? Whom did he marry? What protector of the reformers died in 1526? Into what was Prussia erected?

283. To whom did Francis write on his return to France? What did Charles's ambassadors demand of him? What answer did he make?

284. What were the terms of the holy league? Between whom was it made? From what oath did the pope absolve Francis? Upon what did Charles resolve? Whom did he send to Paris to demand the execution of the treaty? How was their demand treated by Francis?

285. How did Charles behave on receiving the intelligence of the holy league? Was Francis active in executing the holy league? What successes did Bourbon meet with in the Milanese? What great family in Italy were attached to the Ghibelline or imperial interest? With how many men did Colonna enter Rome?

286. Where did Clement take refuge? What palaces and church were plundered? What reinforcements did the imperial army in Italy receive? Were these troops well paid?

**P. 287.** How was Bourbon obliged to raise money for them ? Whom did Bourbon liberate ? For what ransom ? How did he afterward treat Morone ? How had pope Clement acted towards Colonna and his family ? Did he also attack Naples ?

**288.** To whom did Bourbon leave the command of Milan ? How numerous was his army ? How was it provided ? How did he conciliate his soldiers when they mutinied ?

**289.** With whom did the pope make a treaty ? Did he rely on this so much as to disband his troops ? Did Bourbon regard Lannoy's treaty with the pope ? What city did he resolve to assault and plunder ?

**290.** How did the pope prepare to resist Bourbon ? When did Bourbon encamp in the plains of Rome ?

**291.** How was Bourbon dressed for the battle ? How did he attack the city ? What were the circumstances of his death ?

**292.** Did this dishearten the soldiers ? How was the pope employed during the battle ? Where did he take shelter ? What was the fate of Rome ?

**293.** Who succeeded Bourbon ? Did he besiege the castle of St. Angelo ? From whom did the pope expect relief ? Did the duke d'Urbino grant it ?

**294.** Did Charles V. disclaim this attack upon Rome ? What inconsistency was Charles guilty of in his prayers ? What country was invaded by Solymán ? Who was king of Hungary and Bohemia ? Who was his general ? What was the result of the battle of Mohacz ? Who claimed the two crowns of Lewis ? By what right ? Did Ferdinand gain the kingdoms ? Did Luther's followers gain ground in Germany ?

## BOOK V.

**295.** How was Charles's treatment of the pope regarded by the other European powers ? What princes entered into alliance against Charles ? What were the principal terms of the treaty concluded at Amiens, between Francis and Wolsey on the part of Henry ? What claim did Henry give up ? For what price ?

**296.** Who had the custody of the pope ? How did the Florentines and Venetians behave towards his holiness ? To what city did Lannoy and Moncada, and the marquis of Guasto, march with their troops ? Whom did Francis and the Venetians appoint generalissimo of the league ?

**297.** Was he successful in Italy ? On what terms was the pope released ?

**298.** How long had he been confined ? Did the pope wait to be formally liberated ? How did Charles treat this offer ? With what forms did Francis and Henry declare war against

Charles? How was the English herald answered by Charles? How was Francis's herald answered?

P. 299. How large was Lautrec's army in Italy? Towards what country were they advancing? What army evacuated Rome as they advanced? How long had they been in Rome? How much was their number reduced? By what causes? Whither did they retreat? How was Lautrec received by the people of the kingdom of Naples? What city did he besiege? Whose galleys guarded the harbour? Under whose command?

300. Who attacked Philippino? With what success? What officer was killed? Who was taken prisoner? Where is Genoa? How was Doria treated by Francis and his ministers? What injury did the French offer to his country, Genoa? What measure did Doria take in consequence of this? How did Francis attempt to punish his boldness? Did he succeed? What officer invited Doria to enter into the emperor's service?

301. Did he accept the offer? What city did he relieve? Who commanded the imperialists at Naples? What was the condition of the imperial army? Of the French army? Where did Lautrec die? Who succeeded him?

302. Whither did he retreat with the remains of the French army? On what terms did he surrender? How did Doria expel the French from Genoa? What general did Francis send to the Milanese? By whom was he defeated?

303. Did Francis desire peace? Did the other contending powers? What ladies undertook to make peace? Meantime, what treaty was concluded by Charles? What were its chief terms?

304. What were the terms of the treaty concluded by Margaret and Louise? Why did Henry VIII. favour Francis, and consent implicitly to the treaty? Whom did Henry wish to divorce?

305. To retain Francis's friendship as a counterbalance to Charles's power, what did Henry do? In what country did the emperor land soon after the treaty? To whom did he leave the government of Spain? At what port did the emperor first land? Whom did he honour there? Where did he meet the pope? In what manner? Where is Bologna? What danger had lately threatened Vienna?

306. How did Charles treat Sforza? The duke of Ferrara? the Venetians?

307. Who was made absolute ruler of Florence? With what titles was Charles crowned in Italy? What progress had Luther's doctrines made in Germany? Where and when did the emperor hold a diet of the empire? Were the diet prepared to oppress the Lutherans? What did the emperor's agents desire of them?



P. 308. What were the members who protested against this decree called? How was the term afterwards applied? Where did Charles appoint a diet of the empire? On his way to the diet, what did he find the disposition of the Germans to be concerning religion?

309. What spirit actuated the members of the diet? Was Luther there? Who was employed to draw up the Protestant confession of faith, or creed? What was it called? Did it leave so many marks of distinction between papists and protestants, as to forbid their future coalition?

310. Did Charles prevail on the princes to renounce their opinions? What measures did Campeggio advise? What decree was issued?

311. How did this affect Melancthon? Luther? Where did the protestants meet to form a league? To what kings did they apply for protection? How had Charles formed a scheme for continuing the imperial crown in his family? Why did the protestants oppose this?

312. How did the elector of Saxony oppose Charles's views? Was Ferdinand chosen king of the Romans? On hearing this, what did the protestants of Smalkalde do? How did Francis favour the protestants?

313. How did Henry VIII.? Why was Charles anxious to conciliate the protestants? What were the terms of the treaty of Ratisbon? What intelligence from Solymán ended the diet?

314. What measures were taken to oppose Solymán? What was the number of the allied army? Who took command of it? Was the campaign signalized by any great battle? Which party retreated? What friend of the protestants died?

315. What treaty did Charles conclude with the pope? Where were the imperial forces sent? Where did Charles land in Spain? How had Francis attempted to elude his late treaty? How did Francis effect an alliance with the pope? Who was to marry Catherine de' Medicis?

316. Where did the pope and Francis meet? What marriage took place there? Was any treaty made between them?

317. Did the pope favour Henry VIII.'s application for a divorce? From whom did Henry obtain permission? Whom did Henry marry?

318. What decree did the cardinals obtain from the pope? What effect did this produce on Henry? What did the parliament declare? Was the power of the Roman Catholics thus nearly overturned in England? What happened in the next reign in England? When did pope Clement die?

319. Who succeeded him? What was the belief of the anabaptists concerning baptism? What concerning civil go-

vernment? About property? What were the names of the two anabaptist prophets?

P. 320. Of what did they gain possession? Where is Munster?

321. Who besieged Munster? What became of Matthias?

322. Who succeeded to his power over the people? What title did he take?

323. How did Luther regard Boccold's conduct?

324. How was the city captured by the imperialists?

325. What was Boccold's fate? What duke had been expelled his dominions in 1519? Who seized his dominions? What prince helped the duke to recover his dominions? What king supplied the means? What religion was established in Wurtemberg? Did Ferdinand acknowledge his right?

326. How did he gain the protestant princes to acknowledge him king of the Romans? Did Paul III. consent to hold a general council? Where? Who objected? On what grounds? What enterprise did the emperor undertake at this time? What is that country now called which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Massylia, and the republic of Carthage? Where is it situated?

327. To whom did Muley Hassan apply for assistance? With what success? Who took command of the expedition against Tunis? Where did he embark? What distinguished persons accompanied the expedition? What knights?

328. What port was the rendezvous? Who was admiral of the fleet? Who, under the emperor, commanded the land forces? How numerous was the fleet? How did Barbarossa prepare for defence? What fortress did he man with 6,000 Turks? Who commanded it?

329. How was it taken?

330. Was Tunis then capable of defence? How did Barbarossa propose to decide the fate of the war? What cruel proposal did he make to his followers? What was the event of the general battle?

331. Whither did Barbarossa fly? What happened in the city while the forces were gone out to battle? What event stained the glory of this victory?

332. How many Christians gained their liberty by it? How was this expedition regarded in Europe?

## BOOK VI.

333. What were the circumstances of Merveille's mission and death? What did Francis do on hearing of this?

334. Could Francis gain any assistance from the pope?

**From England?** To whom did he apply for aid? How did he endeavour to gain the protestants at Smalkalde? Whom did he invite to Paris to effect a union of parties?

**P. 335.** How did he afterward attempt to prove his attachment to the catholic faith? Did they agree to assist him against the emperor? Why not? Did Melancthon go to Paris?

**336.** Against what duke in Italy did Francis intend to make war? Whom did Charles, duke of Savoy, marry? Which possessed the greatest talents? Whose interest did Beatrix favour? How had Charles of Savoy offended Francis?

**337.** What did Francis do? Did he conquer Savoy? What city revolted against the duke of Savoy?

**338.** Whose protection did Charles of Savoy claim? Could Charles aid him? What was the effect of Sforza's death? Who took possession of the duchy of Milan?

**339.** What did the French ambassadors demand of Charles? What answer did they receive? On what terms did Charles offer single combat?

**340.** How did he treat the ambassadors when they attempted to reply? What did the pope desire? Was any thing decisive done at this meeting? How did Charles behave to the ambassadors the next day?

**341.** Did he gain still more time by negotiation? What number of imperialists appeared on the frontiers of the Milanese? Did the French dare to meet them? Was the emperor with the army? Who commanded under him? What country did Charles determine to invade? What did he direct the historian Jovius to do?

**342.** Did Charles's ministers and generals approve of his invasion of France? Did he regard their advice? Who turned traitor to Francis? What country did he leave defenceless? Who remained faithful, and saved Piedmont?

**343.** What was Francis's system of defence? To what marshal was it intrusted? Where did Montmorency encamp? Where did the king? What towns did he think it necessary to defend?

**344.** How were the inhabitants of the rest of the country disposed of? How was the property disposed of? What did the emperor promise his troops on his arrival in Provence? In what part of France is Provence? As Charles advanced into France, what was the situation of his army?

**345.** What towns did he invest? With what success? Where is Marseilles? Arles? Who reinforced Montmorency at Avignon? Where is Avignon?

**346.** How long did Charles remain at Provence? With what loss did he retreat? What officer did he lose? Whither did the emperor conduct his army? Who succeeded Leyva?

P. 347. For what country did he embark? Was the king of the Romans successful in his attack on the opposite frontier of France? What loss did Francis suffer in his family? To what was the dauphin's death imputed?

348. What did Francis do in the parliament of Paris? What countries did he lay claim to by this ridiculous ceremony? Did Francis proceed to occupy these countries? What place did the Flemings invest? Who advanced to relieve Terouenne?

349. What stopped them? Where is Terouenne? Who brought about this suspension of arms? For how long a space was the suspension? In what countries? Where did the war still reign? For how long did they conclude a treaty there?

350. With whom did Francis form an alliance? What countries did Solyman undertake to invade? What did Francis? Where is Hungary? Did Solyman fulfil his part of the treaty? Who was his admiral? What admiral forced Barbarossa to retire from Naples? What induced Charles to suspend hostilities? Did they immediately succeed in making a definitive treaty?

351. Who undertook to settle a peace? Did he succeed? How long a truce did he effect? Whither was Charles driven by contrary winds? What use did Francis make of the incident?

352. What instances of mutual confidence marked the meeting? To whom did Charles betroth his daughter? By whom had her first husband Alexander de' Medici been murdered? Who had succeeded Alexander as duke of Florence?

353. To whom had Francis I. given his daughter Magdalen in marriage? Who was offended at it? How did Henry endeavour to prevent James's gaining Mary of Guise? Did he succeed?

354. To whom did Charles V. make overtures for peace and family alliance? What place had the pope fixed upon for the council? Where is Mantua? Whither did the pope finally transfer the meeting of the Council? What happened at the time of meeting? What mode of reform did the pope propose? Did the ecclesiastics proceed vigorously with it?

355. What was the holy league? Did it alarm the protestants? Did they gain any concessions from the emperor? What enemy of the Reformation died?

356. Who succeeded him? What change did Henry effect? What was the disposition of Charles's soldiers? How was it manifested? Who quelled the mutiny? Were any soldiers disbanded?

357. Who was ordered to invade France in 1536? From



what assembly did the queen obtain a subsidy? What citizens refused to pay their part? What order did the queen issue? What was its effect? Did the other towns join the confederacy? To whom did they send a deputation? To what council did Charles refer their case?

P. 358. What decision did they give? What did the citizens of Ghent do on learning this decision? From whom did they seek support? Did they obtain it?

359. Did he betray the rebels to the emperor? What expedient did the emperor adopt to suppress the rebellion? What number of attendants did he take? What two nobles received him at Bayonne? How was he treated in the French towns? Where did Francis meet him? How did they enter Paris? How long was Charles in Paris?

360. On arriving there did he perform his promise to give up Milan? How did he evade the performance of it? How did the citizens of Ghent behave on Charles's approach? On what day did he enter the city?

361. How were the citizens punished for their rebellion? Was he at last driven to the denial of his promise concerning Milan? What religious order was established this year?

362. Who was its founder? What was his character? What did Loyola pretend was the origin of its constitution and laws? Did the pope at first favour Loyola's design of founding an order? How did Loyola overcome his scruples?

363. Who was appointed the first general of the order? In half a century how extensive were their establishments? What two generals perfected the constitution and laws of the Jesuits? What is the primary object of other monastic orders? What is the object of the Jesuits? What is the form of government among the Jesuits?

364. What amount of influence did they acquire over the education of youth? Of whom were they the confessors? Of whom the spiritual guides? Of what did they thus acquire the direction? In what did they take part?

365. What peculiar source of wealth had they? With what countries did they trade? Where did they obtain a fertile province? How did Charles V. regard the Jesuits?

366. In the diet at Worms who were the chief disputants?

367. Was the controversy terminated at this diet?

368. Was the result of the diet agreeable to the pope? Was it to the protestants? What was the cause of Charles's moderation? What had happened in Hungary?

369. What treaty existed between John and Ferdinand? What event occasioned the breaking of this treaty? Who had the direction of affairs on the side of Stephen? Did Ferdinand declare war against Stephen? Who supported Stephen's cause?

**P. 370.** How did Charles gain supplies of men and money from the protestants? For what country did he set out after the diet? Against what country had the emperor concerted a great enterprise?

**371.** On what country was Algiers dependent? Who governed it? Against whom did he commit piracies? What preparations did Charles make for invading Algiers? What did Andrew Doria advise?

**372.** What happened on his first embarking? Did this storm deter him from his purpose? What was the amount of his force? Where did he land in Africa? What was Hascen's force?

**373.** What annoyed the troops of Charles on the night of their landing? Did they succeed in repelling their assailants in the morning? What happened after this battle?

**374.** What place did Doria appoint for re-embarking?

**375.** What misfortunes attended the retreat to Cape Metafuz? How did the emperor behave amid these misfortunes?

**376.** What happened after their embarkation? To what port in Africa was the emperor driven before he could return to Spain?

## BOOK VII.

**376.** Who was Francis's ambassador to the Porte? Who to Venice? What happened to them as they sailed down the Po? By whose instigation were they murdered? How did Francis behave on hearing this?

**377.** How did Francis prepare for war? Who were appointed to command where the chief exertions were intended? What were the numbers of the armies commanded by these princes? To what city did the dauphin lay siege? What country did the duke of Orleans invade? What induced him to abandon Luxemburg? What was lost by this step?

**378.** Did the dauphin take Perpignan? What was the only advantage of the campaign? How did the emperor raise money? What marriage did he negotiate?

**379.** How did he obtain a donative from Valencia and Aragon? With whom did he leave the government of Spain? For what country did he set out? With whom did he conclude a league? How had Francis lost the friendship of Henry VIII.?

**380.** Against whom had Henry declared war? What occasioned him to make peace? What marriage did he seek to negotiate? How did Francis seek to make up for the loss of Henry's alliance?

**381.** What envoy did he send to Venice and Constantinople?

What did Paulin obtain from the sultan? What did Francis effect in the Low Countries? Whose territories did the emperor invade? What town did he take? How were the inhabitants treated? How was the duke of Cleves himself treated?

P. 382. To what town did Charles next lay siege? Where is Landrecy? Hainault? What forces joined him there? Who advanced to relieve Landrecy? Who covered the siege? Why did not a general engagement ensue?

383. Who was obliged to retreat? What country did Solyman conquer during this campaign? How did Barbarossa proceed? What restored the confidence of the alarmed inhabitants of Rome? What fleet joined Barbarossa at Marseilles? What town did the French and Turks attack?

384. Who defended Nice? Where is Nice? Who relieved the fort, and compelled the Turks and French to raise the siege? Who succeeded Henry of Saxony? What was his character?

385. Why did he not join the league of Smalkalde? Where did the pope appoint a council? Where is Trent? Was any council held? What occasioned Ferdinand and Charles to tolerate the protestants?

386. What occasioned Henry duke of Brunswick to lose his dominions? Against what did the protestants of Smalkalde protest? Where did the emperor hold a diet? What princes did he court?

387. How did Charles conciliate the protestants? What point did he gain by these concessions? What forces? What source of revenue?

388. With what king did Charles make a peace? What had recently caused discord between Henry VIII. and Francis I.? What design did Henry and Charles entertain against France? What ally did Francis renounce? Why?

389. Where is Carignan? What French general invested Carignan? Who was marching to its relief? Whom did Enguien send to Paris to ask leave to fight a general battle? What happened at the interview?

390. Where did the battle take place? Describe the battle.

391. Who conquered? Who was wounded? How many imperialists were slain? Did Francis follow up his advantage by invading the Milanese? Why not? How many troops did he take from Enguien's army?

392. What was gained by the victory at Cerisoles? When did the emperor take the field? With how many men? What country did he reduce? Whither did he then march? What towns surrendered? What one did he besiege? By whom was it defended? What country did the forces of Henry VIII. invade? Where did they afterward join the king?

P. 393. What did the emperor wish him to do? Did he comply with his wishes? Where is St. Disier? How was the capture of St. Disier effected?

394. What was gained by Sancerre's gallant defence of St. Disier? What towns did Charles take? Where are Espeney and Chateau? Thierry? What city was thus endangered?

395. Where are Rouen and Orleans? What was done towards its defence? Where is Meaux? Ferte? Towards what place did Charles then fall back? Where is Soissons? Where are Boulogne and Montreuil? Who was besieging them? Where was the treaty signed?

396. What were its chief terms?

397. What French prince was dissatisfied with the treaty of Crespy? Was Francis himself pleased with it? Where did the diet assemble? Where is Worms? What did Ferdinand observe at the opening of the diet?

398. What reply did the protestants make? Did Ferdinand recede from his resolution? Did the protestants refuse obedience to the council? Who was desirous to gratify the emperor? Where did Charles appoint the diet for the next year to be held?

399. What archbishop favoured the Reformation? Who opposed him? Which did Charles favour? How did Charles treat the protestants of his own hereditary dominions?

400. How was Charles freed from his engagement to bestow his niece on the duke of Orleans? What did the duke of Savoy lose by this?

401. What improper proceeding of pope Paul's is mentioned? Did Charles confirm the investiture of Parma and Placentia to Peter Lewis? Did this prevent the pope and emperor from uniting against the protestants? What measure did the duke of Brunswick resort to for recovering his possessions?

402. Did he succeed? For which party in religion did the elector Frederick declare? Was the change of rites in the palatinate effected without disorder? Did Frederick join the league of Smalkalde? Where is Smalkalde? Where was the council held?

403. What did the emperor wish the council to begin with? Did the pope listen to this proposition? How was the first session spent?

404. Of what were the protestants suspicious? Where did the confederates of Smalkalde assemble? To whom did the landgrave apply for information of the emperor's views? What answer did he receive?

405. What sort of men did the emperor send to the conference about doctrines? Who broke up the conference?



BOOK VIII.

P. 405. When did Luther die? What were his virtues

406. What were his faults?

407. With whom did the emperor have an interview? What took place at the interview? What did the landgrave do in consequence of this interview?

408. What did the council of Trent determine? Whom did they anathematize, or curse? How was the archbishop of Cologne treated? What was the only crime imputed to him? Who were alarmed at this proceeding?

409. Was the emperor now obliged to throw off the disguise he had assumed towards the protestants? What were the terms of the treaty between Ferdinand and Solymán? Where did the diet of the empire meet? Who absented themselves from it?

410. What were the emperor's remarks on opening the diet? What did the Roman catholics propose? The protestants? Whom did the emperor despatch to Rome to form an alliance with the pope? What troops did he order to advance towards Germany? What warning did he give to John and Albert of Brandenburg?

411. What did the deputies of the protestants demand? What answer did Charles give? Did the deputies remain at the diet? What did the emperor engage to do in his treaty with the pope?

412. What did the pope engage to do? What did Charles endeavour to persuade the Germans?

413. How did the pope nearly disconcert this plan?

414. What did the greater and sounder part of the protestant confederates resolve to do? Where did their deputies meet? Whose alliance did they solicit? To what kings did they have recourse?

415. Did they gain assistance of either? Did they succeed well in obtaining soldiers at home? What was the amount of their army? Were all the protestant allies engaged in furnishing this force? Why did not the others contribute?

416. Where was the emperor? With what force? Where is Ratisbon? Was his situation exposed and dangerous? Where were the pope's troops? Why did not the confederates at once overwhelm them? What papers did they publish?

417. How did Charles treat them? What reply did he make to the manifesto? To what did the *ban* condemn the protestants? What formality was omitted in it? With what ceremony did the protestants declare war?

418. What did Sebastian Schertel do? Where is Tyrol? Where is Inspruch? What obliged him to desist?

P. 419. Who commanded the protestants? What was the difference in their characters? Did they agree well? What was the consequence? Was the whole confederation ill combined and ill governed? Whither did the emperor go from Ratisbon? Where is Landshut?

420. What town did they attack? Meantime, how large a force was assembled at Landshut? What persons of distinction were with the army? What disgusted the pope's legate? Did the protestants take Ratisbon?

421. What reports were published concerning the pope? In what manner did the pope's soldiers behave? In what situation did the protestants find the emperor at Ingoldstadt? What did the landgrave wish?

422. Why did the elector oppose it? Did they succeed in drawing the emperor from his intrenchments? How did he employ the night after the attack on his camp? To what did the confederates next turn their attention? Did they succeed? What towns did the emperor take?

423. What did his generals advise? Did he regard their advice? Which party did Maurice of Saxony early determine to join? With whom did he make a secret treaty? What was the character of this treaty? Did the confederates suspect his designs? What did the elector of Saxony commit to his care?

424. What did Maurice do after the elector's departure? What did Charles require him to do? What did the states of the country advise Maurice to do? What did Maurice write to the landgrave? What answer did he get? Who now invaded the electoral dominions?

425. How did Maurice succeed in his invasion? How was the news received in the catholic and protestant camps? What did the elector propose? What did the deputies prevail on him to do at first? Did he afterward determine to go to his dominions?

426. What did the confederates at last decide to do? How did Charles behave when he received offers of peace? What did he require? Was it agreed to? Was the army divided? In what manner?

427. Did this destroy their power? How did the elector of Saxony succeed in recovering his dominions? What was Maurice's situation? Did Charles go to relieve him? Whom did he despatch to help him? What became of this detachment? Did the elector use his advantage? How did he proceed?

428. Could the emperor assist Maurice? How had his force been weakened? What did the pope order? With whom was the administration of affairs lodged in Genoa? Was this satisfactory to the people? Who was the chief man of the government? Who was his heir?

**P. 429.** What was Giannettino's character? Was he a favourite with Andrew? Who formed a bold conspiracy against the government of Genoa? What was Fiesco's character?

**430.** What foreign prince did he endeavour to engage? Who was Fiesco's adviser? Was he favourable to engaging the French in the plot? What was Verrina's plan? Did Fiesco adopt it? With what foreign enemies of Charles did he correspond?

**431.** What naval force did he acquire? What night did they appoint for executing their design? How did Fiesco pass the day?

**432.** Describe the preparations at Fiesco's palace. How did Fiesco's wife behave?

**433.** Describe the capture of the galleys. What was the fate of Giannettino?

**434.** How did Andrew escape? What did the senators do? What happened to Fiesco? What was the effect of his death on the plot?

**435.** What happened next day? For what purpose did the senate send an ambassador to Charles? How did Charles receive the intelligence? What did he suspect?

## BOOK IX.

**436.** Was Francis's jealousy awakened by Charles's success against the protestants? Whom did he offer to assist?

**437.** What foreign enemies did he stir up against Charles? How did he try to gain the king of Denmark? Did he hope to engage the English in the league against Charles?

**438.** What preparations did Francis make at home? Was Charles aware of the intrigues of Francis against him? Whom had Francis protected of the Genoese conspirators? What fortunate event for Charles happened on the last day of March? In what year of his age and of his reign did Francis die? How long had his rivalry with Charles subsisted? Was Francis overrated by his contemporaries?

**439.** Why? What was his character as a man? What appellation has he received from historians? Was he superior to Charles in abilities?

**440.** Who succeeded Francis I.? Had Charles much to fear from him? From whence did he commence his march? With how many troops? What sort of troops? Was the elector's army superior in numbers? By what error did he weaken it?

**441.** On which frontier did Charles enter Saxony? What town did he attack? Where is Altorf? Where did the elector leave a detachment to oppose the imperialists? Where is Muhlberg? Did the elector encamp with his main

body near this place? Where did Charles arrive on the 23rd of April? What did he resolve to do? Who opposed his resolution?

P. 442. Effectually? How was the attack begun? How opposed? Relate the exploit of the ten Spanish soldiers? How did the emperor and the cavalry cross the Elbe?

443. What was the conduct of the elector while these things were transpiring? How did he behave when a battle became inevitable?

444. What was the result of the battle? How was the elector captured? How was he treated by Charles? By Ferdinand? What was his conduct in these circumstances? How many men did the imperialists lose? The Saxons? Who escaped of the Saxons?

445. Towards what city did Charles march? What lady defended it?

446. What put a stop to the progress of the siege? What stratagem did Charles employ to obtain possession of Wittenburg? What court tried the elector?

447. What was the sentence? How did the elector receive it? Who interceded for the elector's life?

448. What did Sybilla wish him to do? What terms did he make with Charles? What did Charles on his part agree to do?

449. What condition did the elector inflexibly refuse to agree to? How was Maurice paid for his aid in conquering the elector? Who was now left to maintain the protestant cause? Who acted as mediators between the landgrave and Charles?

450. What were the conditions imposed on the landgrave? Did the emperor promise any thing on his part? Did the landgrave ratify these articles? What did Charles or his ministers promise the elector of Brandenburg and Maurice? What bond did these princes give the landgrave?

451. How did Charles try to cheat the landgrave on his arrival at Halle? Describe the scene of his submission to the emperor?

452. By whom was the landgrave received and entertained after his submission? What information did the duke give the elector and Maurice after supper? How was this received by them?

453. By the landgrave? Could they afterward move Charles from his cruel and perfidious purpose? Did Maurice and the elector finally desert the landgrave, and thus break their word of honour and their bond?

454. How was the landgrave treated after this? How did Charles treat the countries brought into his power by the surrender of the landgrave? What did he do with the cannon



collected from them? What amount of money did he extort from them in the form of taxes?

P. 455. Where is Bohemia? How did Ferdinand treat the Bohemians? Had they been a free people? Had Ferdinand attempted to overthrow their constitution? What violent measures did they take? Whom did they choose for their general? Did they afterward proceed with vigour in their rebellion? How did Ferdinand receive their submission? Where did the emperor hold a diet?

456. How did he awe the diet? To what did the emperor call the attention of the diet? What had happened to the council of Trent? Did the pope remove the council from Trent? Whither? Did the prelates all go to Bologna? How many went?

457. Did the emperor succeed in bringing the prelates back to Trent? What was the character of Peter Lewis Farnese? Who conspired to murder him and took possession of Placentia? How was Parma saved? How was the pope affected with his son's death? What did he demand of Charles?

458. Did he obtain it? Whom did he seek to draw into alliance with him? For what did the diet of Augsburg petition the pope? What did Charles employ some divines to prepare? What was the character of this system of doctrines?

459. What concessions with respect to forms were made to the protestants? What was this system of doctrines called? Why? What did the archbishop of Mentz do at the reading of it? Was he opposed?

460. Was this declaration taken for a ratification of the Interim? Who interceded at the diet for the landgrave of Hesse? Successfully? Whom did Charles make elector? How was the Interim received when it was published? What princes refused conformity?

461. Who was most firm? What did he say? What did he suffer in consequence? What did the landgrave offer?

462. What did he gain by it? Where was the Interim most violently opposed? What cities remonstrated? Did Charles determine to oppress these cities? How did he proceed at Augsburg? At Ulm? Where is Ulm?

463. What was the effect of this example? Whither did Charles depart? Whom did he take with him? What disease did Charles suffer? What cities did he force into obedience to the Interim? What cities remained refractory?

## BOOK X.

464. How did the emperor exasperate the pope? What grant did he recall? Did Octavio submit to this? How was this conduct regarded by the pope? How was Octavio saved from his resentment? How long was his pontificate? His life?

P. 465. Who succeeded him? With what name? To whom did he give Parma? What indecorous proceeding was he guilty of?

466. What was his general conduct? Was he willing to call a council? Was he obliged to call it? Where did he order it to assemble? Where did the emperor assemble a new diet? Did he attend in person? With what prince?

467. How did he overawe the meeting? What was the first point submitted to them? Who agreed to it? How had Maurice raised himself to the electoral dignity? How had Maurice endeavoured to procure obedience to the Interim from some of his protestant subjects? How did the clergy aid him? What great divine assisted him?

468. What accusations were brought against Melancthon? What declaration did Maurice issue? What city did he undertake to reduce to obedience of the Interim?

469. To whom was the command of the force sent against Magdeburg given? By whose recommendation? What day was appointed for the meeting of the council of Trent?

470. What were the provisions of the recess? To whom had Julius III. given Parma?

471. Who was empowered by Charles to take Parma from Octavio? To whom did Octavio apply for aid? What did the pope do on learning this? Did Octavio comply? What did the pope then do? Whom did the pope call to his aid? What did Charles order? What absurd state of things resulted from this?

472. What was its effect on the assembling of the council of Trent? How many prelates assembled in September? What ambassador appeared and remonstrated against their proceedings? Did this injure the credit of the council? For what did the emperor strain his authority? How did he anticipate the decrees of the council? How did he proceed at Augsburg?

473. In the circle of Suabia? Where did Charles fix his residence? Who had collected forces to act against Magdeburg? Where is Magdeburg?

474. What was the result of an attack of the Magdeburgers on George? Did George dare besiege it? Who joined George and took the supreme command? Did he besiege the town? Who was taken prisoner by the Magdeburgers? Were the besieging soldiers mutinous?

475. Did Maurice protract the siege? What assurance did he give Mansfeldt, the commander of Magdeburg? How did he contrive to engage the emperor's attention and prevent his observing the schemes he was maturing?

476. Which courted the Turks? Whom did Martinuzzi court? What point did he gain from Ferdinand? Was the queen discouraged by this danger? Whither did she go?

**P. 477.** How was Martinuzzi rewarded? Did Ferdinand gain or lose by his murder? What foreign aid did Maurice call in to assist him against Charles? Who concluded the treaty between Henry II. and Maurice's party? To whom was it communicated? What embassy did he send to Charles?

**478.** What answer was given by Charles? Whom had Maurice despatched to Paris? What other preparations had he made? Without exciting the emperor's suspicion?

**479.** Did Granville suspect Maurice? Had he bribed any of Maurice's ministers? How did Maurice turn this fact to his own advantage? What was the last piece of craft which Maurice exhibited before declaring war?

**480.** What were Maurice's three reasons for making war? What other princes published manifestoes? What title did Henry II. take?

**481.** Which way did Maurice march? How was he received? How was the emperor affected by the news of Maurice's defection? Whom did he employ to negotiate? Where did Maurice and Ferdinand meet? What did Henry II. do towards fulfilling his part of the treaty?

**482.** Did the conference at Lintz produce an accommodation? Did it produce a truce? Where was a new conference appointed? How many days remained before the truce should begin? Towards what city did Maurice march? What two places did he take in the Tyrol?

**483.** What castle did he surprise? How?

**484.** What retarded his march and saved the emperor from being taken? Where is Inspruck? In what style did the emperor travel from Inspruck? Whither did he retreat? Where is Carinthia? When did Maurice enter Inspruck? What became of the emperor's baggage? Of Ferdinand's?

**485.** What became of the elector? What happened to the council of Trent?

**486.** To what place had Henry II. advanced? What did the Strasburgers do? Did he abandon Strasburg? How did Albert of Brandenburg proceed? Did he obey Maurice's orders? What was his object in the war? Where is Passau? Who met at Passau, May 26th?

**487.** What was the emperor's answer to the proposals for peace? What did Maurice then do? What city did he besiege? How did this step affect the emperor? Did Ferdinand avail himself of this? What request did he then make of Maurice? What were the terms of the treaty of Passau?

## BOOK XL

**P. 488.** What country did Maurice march into after the treaty of Passau was signed? Did he accomplish much there? What new misfortune happened to the landgrave of Hesse?

**489.** How did he escape from imprisonment? What was his subsequent character and conduct? What other prince was released?

**490.** How was the remainder of his life passed? What three towns did Charles determine to recover? To what city did he repair? How did he attempt to conceal his design? Did he succeed?

**491.** Where is Metz? What general did Henry II. send to Metz? In what condition did he find Metz? How did he prepare for its defence? How did he avoid the imputation of sacrilege? Did the citizens aid him?

**492.** Who retreated into Lorraine on Charles's approach? To whom was the chief command of the imperial forces under the emperor given? What did his generals advise Charles to do? Did he regard them?

**493.** How was the duke of Alva received on his approach to Metz? Which party did Albert of Brandenburg join? What victory did he achieve? How was he rewarded? How did the duke of Guise defend Metz?

**494.** From whence did the emperor come to attend the siege? What distresses attended the besiegers? What disgraceful behaviour were they guilty of?

**495.** When did Charles raise the siege? How long had it continued? How many men had Charles lost? How were the French prevented from following the retreating enemy?

**496.** By what acts did the duke of Guise complete his fame? What principality was Charles compelled to give up to Cosmo di Medici?

**497.** To whom had the command of Charles's troops in Sienna been given? How did he attempt to deceive the people? What was the consequence?

**498.** What prince threatened a new war in Germany? Who issued a decree against him? Whom did they appoint to execute it? Did the other powerful princes unite with Maurice? Where did their armies meet? Where is the duchy of Lunenburg? Which conquered? Who fell in the battle?

**499.** What was the character of Maurice?

**500.** Did Albert renew his depredations? Who took command of the allied troops? What finally became of Albert? Who obtained the territories left by Maurice? To what city did Charles lay siege?



**P. 501.** Did he take it? What other town did he take? What prince first distinguished himself in this siege? Whither did Henry lead a numerous army?

**502.** Did Charles advance to meet him? Did any great engagement take place? Who attacked Sienna? Where is Sienna? Did they reduce it? What island did the French take? Where is Corsica? Who attempted to recover Hungary?

**503.** Who aided her? What country was Castaldo obliged to abandon to her?

**504.** To whom did Charles propose to marry his son Philip? Did Philip consent? Did Mary? How were the English disposed towards the match?

**505.** What did the House of Commons do? What were the terms of the marriage?

**506.** Did they satisfy the English nation? Who arose to oppose the government of England? Was the insurrection quelled? How did Philip seek to conciliate the English?

**507.** How did he prepare to enforce their obedience? What measures did Mary take in favour of popery? How were the protestant teachers punished?

**508.** What country did the king of France order to be invaded with a numerous army? Who commanded the main body? With what siege did the campaign commence? In how many days was it taken? Where is Marienburg? What places did the king himself take? Where is Bouvines? Dinant?

**509.** Who defended Artois against the French effectually? Where is Artois? What place did Henry invest? Who came to the imperial camp?

**510.** What brought on an engagement? Who were victorious? Why were not the imperialists routed? What made the French retire? How did Henry dispose of his army? What advantage did Charles take of their dismission?

**511.** What did Cosmo di Medici wish with respect to the French? On whom did he labour to throw the burden of the enterprise? What offer did his envoy make to Charles? Did Charles accept the offer? What did Cosmo expect to gain by this?

**512.** How did he gain the pope and the duke of Orsini? Whom did he appoint to the command of his army? What was his history? Why did he particularly incline to favour Cosmo? Whom did the king of France appoint to oppose Medecino?

**513.** When did a battle take place? What became of Strozzi after the battle? Who commanded the French at Vienna?

P. 514. Did he repel Medecino's assaults? Were the Siennese at last obliged to surrender?

515. On what terms? Did Medecino observe them? Did Cosmo?

516. What place did Medecino next invest? Did he take it? To whom did the emperor grant the investiture of Sienna? How were the Siennese oppressed? Who commanded the French in Piedmont?

517. Whom did Charles oppose to him? What was the result of the campaign in Piedmont? Who plotted to deliver Metz to the imperialists?

518. To whom did he communicate his plan? How was it to be effected?

519. How was it discovered? How was it defeated? How did Vielleville revenge himself on the imperialists?

520. Give an account of the destruction of the monks. What cardinal laboured to restore peace?

521. Where did the plenipotentiaries meet? Why could they not agree? Where did the diet meet?

522. What were Ferdinand's observations at the opening of it? What effect did these observations have when published? Whom did the pope send to Augsburg? What caused Morone's return to Rome? Why was Ferdinand anxious to gratify the protestants?

523. To what did the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the landgrave of Hesse bind themselves?

524. What were the articles of the recess? To whom did the benefits of the recess of Augsburg extend?

525. Who succeeded Julius as pope? How long did he reign? Who succeeded him?

526. By what title? What new character did he assume on becoming pope? What offices did he give his nephews?

527. What was their object? Why did Caraffa hate the emperor? Why did the pope? How did the pope's nephews seek to increase his hatred of Charles?

528. What acts of injustice towards Charles's adherents did the pope perform? Whose friendship did the pope seek? What did his ambassador propose to Henry?

529. What French minister opposed the treaty? What French nobles favoured the treaty? Who was sent to Rome to conclude the treaty? How had the pope become disposed towards it? What event did rouse him?

530. What great event happened during the negotiation of this treaty? From what country did Philip come to attend the ceremony? When and where did Charles assemble the states of the Low Countries? Describe the opening of the ceremony.

**P. 531.** What was the substance of his speech to the states? To Philip? What did Mary, queen-dowager of Hungary, resign?

**532.** What happened a few weeks afterward? What did Charles reserve for himself? Did Charles sail immediately for Spain? What expedient was proposed for making peace? How was Henry disposed towards making peace with Charles? For how long a time did he sign a treaty of truce?

**533.** Was the pope included in the truce? When the news was confirmed, how was the pope affected? What did he pretend were his sentiments concerning the treaty? What ambassadors did he send to Brussels and Paris? What were their public instructions? What were Caraffa's private instructions?

**534.** How did he proceed on arriving at Paris? What was the result? How did Paul proceed when he heard of the treaty?

**535.** How was Philip disposed towards the war? What general began the war? In what manner?

**536.** What was the effect of his success at Rome? Who proposed a truce? Was it obtained? What event restored the pope's confidence?

## BOOK XII

**536.** For what place did the emperor set out? When did he set sail? At what port did he arrive in Spain? In what part of Spain is Biscay? To what place did he travel from Laredo? Where is Burgos? Where is Valladolid? Where did he take leave of his sisters?

**537.** Where did he settle? In what part of Estremadura is Placentia? In what part of Spain is Estremadura? Why did he choose this place for his retreat? Describe his dwelling.

**538.** Who commanded the French army in Italy? How numerous was it? Was it opposed in its approach towards Rome? Did the pope assist the French as he had promised? What did the Venetians resolve to do?

**539.** What town did the duke of Guise besiege? What was the result of the siege? Could he draw the duke of Alva into action? For what did the duke of Guise solicit the French court?

**540.** How large an army had Philip assembled in the Low Countries? How did he try to draw the English into the war? Did he succeed? How did Mary raise money?

**541.** How many men did she furnish? Who commanded Philip's army? What province did he pretend that he was about to attack? Where is Champagne? How did he deceive the French? What place did he invest? Where is St. Quintin?

**P. 542.** Who came to the admiral's relief?

**543.** What error did Montmorency commit? Who profited by it?

**544.** What was the result of the battle? What was the French loss? What befell the constable? What prisoners were taken? How many men did the imperialists lose? What did Philip do after the battle of St. Quintin?

**545.** How did he treat the duke of Savoy? What did the duke propose in the council of war? How long did the admiral sustain the siege of St. Quintin? How did Henry improve this time?

**546.** How did Philip employ his army during the rest of the campaign? What were the advantages which he derived from this campaign? How did Philip commemorate the victory of St. Quintin?

**547.** Who carried the news of the victory to Rome? How did Paul receive the news of the duke of Guise's recall? Whose mediation did he employ to gain peace?

**548.** Who concluded the treaty between the pope and Philip? Did Paul suffer any detriment by this treaty? What curious fact is mentioned concerning the proud duke of Alva? What had Philip granted to Octavio Farnese?

**549.** What design did Cosmo di Medici entertain? What did he demand of Philip? Was his demand complied with? What did he then do? What did Philip offer to Cosmo? Did Cosmo thus gain his object? How was the duke of Guise received in France? Where did he assemble his troops?

**550.** What place did he invest? When had Calais fallen into the hands of the English? How is it situated? Was it a very strong place? What custom had prevailed with respect to the greater part of the garrison?

**551.** In how many days did the duke of Guise take Calais? What other place did he take? How did the king of France change the population of Calais from English to French? What important affair was transacted by Ferdinand?

**552.** What did the electors do on their part? To whom did Ferdinand send an ambassador? How was he received? What did the pope require? Did he adhere to these ridiculous pretensions? Did he ever acknowledge Ferdinand? Did the Scotch nation join the French in the war with England? Why not? Who was married to the dauphin?

**553.** Who took command of the French armies? What place did he invest? After how long a siege did he take it? What place did the French governor of Calais (de Termes) invest and take?

**554.** Where was he in turn attacked by the count of Egmont? On what river did de Termes take post? What



unforeseen event occasioned the defeat of the French? How many were killed? What became of the rest of the army?

P. 555. To whom did the French nation now look for support? What was the number of the duke of Guise's army? Of the imperial army? Was an engagement expected which should decide the fate of the war? Did it take place? What steps were taken towards a treaty of peace? Who died at this period?

556. How had he passed his time at the monastery of St. Justus? What religious exercises did he engage in? After six months, how was his condition changed?

557. What singular ceremony did he perform? What was the consequence of this? When and at what age did he die?

558. How are we to learn Charles's true character? What was the character of his deliberations? Of his actions? What character did he exhibit in the choice of his ministers and generals?

559. How did he treat them? What was generally their character? What was the character of his foreign policy?

560. How does it compare with that of Francis I. and Henry VIII.? Is his private character well known? What event interrupted the negotiation at Cercamp? How? Who succeeded Mary? By what princes was her political alliance sought? What claims had Henry?

561. What claims had Philip? How did Henry lose her favour? What instructions did she give to her plenipotentiaries?

562. What did Elizabeth claim? What was stipulated respecting Calais? What nation complained of the peace? Who died amid the rejoicings? Who succeeded him? Who died soon after Henry? What became of his nephews?

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